A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY of GEORGE II. continued. A. D. 1739.

THE Engliſh were, by this time, ſo highly incenſed at the numerous depredations committed by the Spaniards, that a war between the two nations was become altogether unavoidable. Letters of marque and repriſal were granted againſt the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty: a

promotion was made of general officers: the troops were augmented: a reinforcement ſent to admiral Haddock, who had been for ſome time cruiſing in the Mediterranean: and an embargo was laid on all merchant ſhips outward bound.

At the ſame time Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, was ordered to declare to the Spaniſh court, that his Britannic majeſty inſiſted upon a formal renunciation, on the part of Spain, of all claims of ſearching Britiſh ſhips, as the baſis of a future treaty: and that the honour of the Britiſh crown and nation would not ſuffer any farther negociations, but upon that condition: that he likewiſe expected the immediate execution of all that had been ſtipulated on the part of Spain by the convention; and that the Britiſh rights to Georgia and Carolina ſhould be expreſsly acknowledged in the future treaty: and finally, that the failure of the court of Spain to fulfil the terms of the convention, had given a new turn to the ſtate of affairs between the two courts; a circumſtance, that intitled his Britannic majeſty to be more peremptory, and to riſe in his demands; the rather as the Spaniſh breach of faith had obliged Great-Britain to incur vaſt expences in

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fitting out armaments both by ſea and land.

To theſe demands the king of Spain replied, that he looked upon the orders, which had been iſſued, for repriſals as acts of hoſtility; and that he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of heaven and his allies, he ſhould be able to ſupport a good cauſe againſt his adverſaries. He likewiſe publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of his own conduct, complaining, that the Spaniſh ſhips, taken by the Engliſh, had been rated at an exhorbitant price: that admiral Haddock had received orders to cruiſe with his ſquadron between the capes of St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to ſurprize the aſſogue-ſhips: that letters of repriſal had been publiſhed at London, in a ſtile injurious to the Spaniſh crown, and had even been carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excuſed the non-payment of the ninety-five thouſand pounds ſtipulated in the convention, by affirming, that the Britiſh court had firſt infringed the articles of that treaty, by the orders ſent to admiral Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia and Carolina; by denying the power of his Catholic majeſty to ſuſpend the Aſſiento for negroes; a power, that had been expreſsly aſſerted in de la Quadra's proteſt, on the validity of which de-

pended the validity of the convention; by eluding the payment of the ſixty-eight thouſand pounds due to Spain from the South-ſea company; by the Engliſh court's neglecting to furniſh their plenipotentiaries with the neceſſary inſtructions within the time limited; and, laſt of all, by their plenipotentiaries having inſiſted upon a liberty of free navigation in the American ſeas, and claiming it as a right, by the law of nations, and by treaties.

Mean while the conduct of the French court, and of the States-general was not a little problematical. The former, it was ſtrongly apprehended, notwithſtanding their profeſſions to the contrary, would declare in favour of the Spaniards: the latter, there was reaſon to ſuſpect, would chuſe to remain neuter. Mr. Horace Walpole had been ſent to the Hague, in order, if poſſible, to perſuade the ſtates to eſpouſe the cauſe of Great-Britain; but all he could obtain from their high-mightineſſes was a vague promiſe, that they would ſtill continue to cultivate the friendſhip of the Engliſh, and would not fail, in caſe of neceſſity, to furniſh them with the ſuccours, ſtipulated by treaty.

As the Spaniards were far from being ready for the immediate proſecution of a war, the French king endeavoured to ſuſpend

pend the commencement of hoſtilities, by offering his mediation to compromiſe all differences between the courts of London and Madrid. But the Britiſh miniſtry replied, that matters were gone too far to leave any room for an accommodation: and that, of all the powers in Europe, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had the leaſt pretence to the office of a mediator; eſpecially as his miniſters, at the Hague and elſewere, had publickly declared, that, in caſe of a war, France was bound by the ſtrongeſt ties to aſſiſt Spain with the utmoſt vigour. The Engliſh were now ſenſible, that they muſt ſtand alone in the quarrel; but animated, as they were, with an uncommon animoſity againſt the Spaniards, they never thought of the difficulty of the undertaking: their whole attention was engroſſed by the agreeable proſpect of revenging the inſults they had received from the enemy.

Mean while the animoſity between the two courts of Great-Britain and Spain was every day becoming more violent and incurable. The Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two Caracca ſhips. The king had iſſued out orders for augmenting his land forces, and raiſing a body of marines: and a great number of ſhips of war were put in commiſſion.

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Admiral Vernon had been ſent to the Weſt-Indies to aſſume the command of the ſquadron in thoſe ſeas; and to attack the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards.

This gentleman had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the houſe of commons, by exclaiming againſt the power, the perfidy, and ambition of the French, and loudly condemning the meaſures of the miniſtry, which he ſuppoſed to be too favourable to that treacherous and deceitful people. He was eſteemed a good officer, and his boiſterous and noiſy manner ſeemed to add freſh merit to his character. As he had once commanded a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, he was perfectly well acquainted with thoſe ſeas; and, in a debate on the Spaniſh depredations, he happened to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spaniſh main might be eaſily reduced, nay, he even declared, that he would undertake, upon the penalty of his head, to reduce it with ſix ſhips only.

The minority did not fail to avail themſelves of this offer. They extolled Vernon as another Drake or Raleigh. In a word they prepoſſeſſed the public ſo much in his favour, that the miniſter, in order to appeaſe the popular clamour on this ſubject, conſented to ſend him as commander in chief to the Weſt-Indies.

By

By this time matters were brought to ſuch extremities between the two courts, that nothing was wanting to produce an open rupture, but a declaration of war, which was accordingly publiſhed at London with the uſual ſolemnity on the ninteenth day of October.* Many

* As this declaration contains a full vindication of the meaſures adopted by his Britannic majeſty and his miniſters, we have thought proper to preſent it to the reader at length. It was conceived in the following terms.

"George R.

"Whereas many unjuſt ſeizures have been made, and depredations carried on, for ſeveral years, in the Weſt-Indies, by Spaniſh guarda coſtas, and other ſhips acting under the commiſſion of the king of Spain, or his governours, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between us and the crown of Spain, and to the law of nations, to the great prejudice of the lawful trade and commerce of our ſubjects; and great cruelties and barbarities have been exerciſed on the perſons of divers of our ſubjects, whoſe veſſels have been ſo ſeized; and the Britiſh colours have been inſulted in the moſt ignominious manner: And whereas, we have cauſed frequent complaints to be made, to the king of Spain, of theſe violent and unjuſt proceedings, but no ſatisfaction or redreſs has been given for the ſame, notwithſtanding the many promiſes made, and cedulas iſſued, ſigned by the ſaid king, or by his order, for that purpoſe: And whereas the evils above-mentioned have been principally occaſioned by an unwarrantable claim and pretenſion, ſet up, on the part of Spain, that the guarda coſtas

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Many Engliſh merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading veſſels, to pro-

coſtas and other ſhips, authorized by the king of Spain, may ſtop, detain, and ſearch the veſſels and ſhips of our ſubjects navigating in the American ſeas, contrary to the liberty of navigation, to which our ſubjects have not only an equal right with thoſe of the king of Spain, by the law of nations, but which is moreover expreſsly acknowledged and declared to belong to them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and particularly by that concluded in the year 1670: And whereas, the ſaid groundleſs claim and pretenſion, and the unjuſt practice of ſtoping, detaining, and ſearching ſhips and veſſels navigating in the ſeas of America, is not only of the moſt dangerous and deſtructive conſequence to the lawful commerce of our ſubjects, but alſo tends to interrupt and obſtruct the free intercourſe and correſpondence between our dominions in Europe and our colonies and plantations in America, and by means thereof, to deprive us, and our ſubjects, of the benefit of thoſe colonies and plantations; a conſideration of the higheſt importance to us, and our kingdoms; and a practice, which muſt affect, in its conſequences, all other princes and ſtates of Europe poſſeſſed of ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, or whoſe ſubjects carry on any trade thither: And whereas, beſides the notorious grounds of complaint above-mentioned, many other infractions have been made, on the part of Spain, of the ſeveral treaties and conventions ſubſiſting between us and that crown, and particularly of that concluded in the year 1669, as well as by the exorbitant duties and impoſitions laid upon the trade and commerce of our ſubjects, as by the breach of ancient

protect their own commerce as well as to diſtreſs that of the enemy.

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cient and eſtabliſhed privileges, ſtipulated for them by the ſaid treaties; for the redreſs of which grievances the ſtrongeſt inſtances have, from time to time, been made by our ſeveral miniſters reſiding in Spain, without any effect: And whereas, a convention, for making reparation to our ſubjects, for the loſſes ſuſtained by them, on account of the unjuſt ſeizures and depredations committed by the Spaniards in America, and in order to prevent for the future all the grievances and cauſes of complaint therein taken notice of, and to remove abſolutely, and for ever, every thing which might give occaſion thereto, was concluded between us and the king of Spain, on the fourteenth day of January laſt; by which convention it was ſtipulated, that a certain ſum of money ſhould be paid at London, within a certain time therein ſpecified, as a ballance admitted to be due, on the part of Spain, to the crown and ſubjects of Great-Britain, which term expired on the twenty-fifth day of May laſt, and the payment of the ſaid ſum was not made, according to the ſtipulation for that purpoſe; by which means the convention above-mentioned was manifeſtly violated and broken by the king of Spain, and our ſubjects remained without any ſatisfaction or reparation for the many grievous loſſes ſuſtained by them; and the methods, agreed upon by the ſaid convention, in order to the obtaining future ſecurity for the trade and navigation of our ſubjects, are, contrary to good faith, fruſtrated and defeated; in conſequence of which we found ourſelves obliged, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and for procuring reparation and ſatisfaction to our injured ſubjects, to order that general repriſals ſhould be granted againſt the ſaid king of Spain,

his

The parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of November, his majeſty, in his ſpeech, in

his vaſſals and ſubjects, and their ſhips, goods, and effects: And whereas, the court of Spain has been induced to colour the open violation of the convention aforeſaid, by reaſons and pretenſions, which are void of all foundation; and, at the ſame time, has not only publiſhed an order, ſigned by the ſaid king, for ſeizing the ſhips, goods, and effects belonging to us and our ſubjects, wherever they ſhall be met with, but has cauſed ſeizures to be actually made of the goods and effects of our ſubjects, reſiding in his dominions, and has alſo ordered our ſaid ſubjects to depart out of the Spaniſh dominions, within a ſhort limited time, contrary to the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, even in caſe of a war actually declared. We have taken into our royal and moſt ſerious conſideration theſe injuries which have been offered to us and our ſubjects, and the manifeſt violation of the ſeveral treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, all which have been, in many particulars, eluded, or evaded, by the unwarrantable behaviour of the court of Spain, and their officers, notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances we have given of our deſire to cultivate a good underſtanding with the king of Spain, and the eſſential proofs of our friendſhip and regard for him and his family, which we have demonſtrated to all the world; and being fully ſatisfied, that the honour of our crown, the intereſt of our ſubjects, and that regard, which ought to be had to the moſt ſolemn treaties, call upon us to make uſe of the power, which God has given us, for vindicating our undoubted rights, and ſecuring to our loving ſub-

informed both houſes, that he had augmented his forces by ſea and land; and expreſſ-

ſubjects the privileges of navigation and commerce, to which they are juſtly intitled: We therefore, relying on the help of Almighty God, who knows the uprightneſs of our intentions, have thonght fit to declare, and do hereby declare war againſt the ſaid king of Spain; and we will, in purſuance of ſuch declaration, vigouroufly proſecute the ſaid war, being aſſured of the ready concurrence and aſſiſtance of all our loving ſubjects in ſo juſt a cauſe, wherein the honour of our crown, the maintenauce of our ſolemn treaties, and the trade and navigation of our ſubjects (which are eſſential to the welfare and proſperity of this nation, and which we are determined, at all times, with our utmoſt power to ſupport) are ſo greatly concerned: and we do hereby will, and require, our generals and commanders of our forces, our commiſſioners for executing the office of high-admiral of Great-Britain, our lieutenants of our ſeveral counties, governours of our forts and garriſons, and all other officers and ſoldiers under them, by ſea and land, to do and execute all acts of hoſtility in the proſecution of this war againſt the king of Spain, his vaſſals, and ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts: and we do hereby command as well our own ſubjects, as adverti ſe all other perſons of what nation ſoever, not to tranſport or carry any ſoldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the ſaid king of Spain; declaring, that whatſoever ſhip or veſſel ſhall be met withal, tranſporting or carrying any ſoldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the ſaid king of Spain, the ſame being taken, ſhall

be

ed his apprehenſion, that the heats and animoſities, which had been induſtriouſly raiſed in the kingdom, had encouraged Spain to act in ſuch a manner, as rendered it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to arms. Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, after a faint oppoſition made by the minority.

In the courſe of the debate on this ſubject, Sir John Barnard took occaſion to complain of the little care that had been taken, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, to protect the traders of Great Britain, who, he affirmed, had been much greater ſufferers by captures than the Spaniards. In anſwer to this inſinuation, Sir Charles Wager obſerved, that as to the Engliſh having been greater ſufferers by captures than the Spaniards, he believed it was very true, and there was a ſufficient, perhaps an invincible, reaſon for it; namely, that the former had a great deal more to loſe than the latter: that the ſea was covered with Engliſh ſhips, and the extent of their trade gave the Spaniards an opportunity of making frequent captures: that the

be condemned as good and lawful prize. Given at our court at Kenſington the nineteenth day of October, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

God ſave the King."

the Spaniards had but very little foreign commerce in Europe, and the little they had was carried on in foreign bottoms; ſo that the flag of other nations protected their property: that, in his opinion, the war in all other reſpects had been duly proſecuted: and that, at that very time, the government had no fewer than thirty-four ſhips of war employed in its ſervice in the Weſt-Indies alone; a greater number than had ever been employed in thoſe parts in any former period.

The ſeceding members had now reſumed their ſeats in the lower houſe; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate their conduct in adopting ſuch an extravagant reſolution. He ſaid, that, as affairs then ſtood, they thought it was neceſſary for clearing their character to poſterity, from the imputation of ſitting in an aſſembly, where a determined majority gave its ſanction to meaſures evidently diſgraceful to his majeſty, and the nation. He added, that their behaviour was ſo fully juſtified by the declaration of war againſt Spain, that any farther vindication of it would be altogether ſuperfluous; inaſmuch as the declaration was no other than a tranſcript of the arguments that had been urged by the gentlemen in the oppoſition.

He was anſwered by Sir Robert Walpole, who ſaid, that he was in no great concern, leſt the ſervice of his majeſty or the nation ſhould ſuffer by the abſence of thoſe members, who had quitted their ſeats in the houſe: that, on the contrary, the nation in general were convinced, that the many uſeful and popular bills, which paſſed towards the end of the laſt ſeſſion, were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the ſeceſſion of thoſe gentlemen; and if they were returned only to oppoſe and perplex, he ſhould not be at all ſorry to ſee them ſecede again.

The frankneſs, which the miniſter had diſcovered in agreeing to a war with Spain, and the activity with which he now prepared to carry it on with vigour, had deprived the minority of ſome of their moſt popular topics of declamation. In order, therefore, to ſupply this loſs, they reſolved to teaze him with motions, which, they knew, could not fail to give him uneaſineſs.

Accordingly Sir William Wyndham, at the end of a long ſpeech, in which he inveighed, with great acrimony, againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration, moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, as a dutiful return to his gracious deſire of the advice of his parliament at this critical and important conjuncture, and as a far-

farther teſtimony of their firm reſolution vigouroufly to ſupport his majeſty in the proſecution of the war againſt Spain, humbly to beſeech his majeſty never to agree to any treaty or negociation for a peace with that crown, unleſs the acknowledgment of the natural and undoubted right, which the Engliſh had, to navigate in the American ſeas, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions, without being ſeized, ſearched, viſited, or ſtopped, under any pretence whatſoever, ſhall have been firſt obtained as a preliminary article.

This motion was readily approved, to the great diſappointment of the minority, who imagined, that it would be ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the friends of the miniſter. His majeſty, in his anſwer to the addreſs, ſaid, that their unanimous and vigourous ſupport in enabling him to carry on the war, would be the beſt means for procuring a ſafe and honourable peace; and that they might depend upon his uſing his utmoſt care and endeavours to obtain effectual ſecurity for the juſt rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his ſubjects.

This anſwer, however full and explicit, was far from being ſatisfactory to the oppoſition. They alledged, that it was dark, obſcure, and by no means ſuited to the pur-

poſe of the addreſs. But the truth is, their intention was to preclude all terms of negociation, except ſuch as, they well knew, would never be accepted by the enemy. With this view it was, that Mr. Pulteney revived the bill, which had formerly miſcarried, for ſecuring the effects of the Britiſh ſubjects trading to America, and for encouraging ſeamen to enter into his majeſty's ſervice. As this bill was extremely popular, the miniſtry did not chooſe to give it any oppoſition. It accordingly paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent; and ſoon after a proclamation was publiſhed, importing, that his majeſty would grant to his ſubjects ſeparate or united charters or commiſſions for the more effectual enabling them to attack or deſtroy the ſhips, goods, factories, and ſettlements of the Spaniards, and to ſecure to them and their heirs, the full and undoubted right, property, and title to what they ſhould take, or cauſe to be taken, from the enemy.

The minority, encouraged by this ſucceſs, reſolved to make another trial of their power and influence. When the eſtimate of marines was laid before the houſe, lord Polwarth propoſed an addreſs to the king, deſiring, that that body of forces ſhould be compoſed of draughts from the old regiments;

ments; that as few officers ſhould be appointed as the nature of the ſervice would admit; and he expreſſed his hope, that the houſe would recommend this method to his majeſty, in tender compaſſion to his people, already burdened with many heavy and grievous taxes.

Though this motion was extremely ſpecious and plauſible, yet, as it was deemed unſafe, in the preſent critical conjuncture, to diminiſh the regular forces of the kingdom, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven againſt ninety-five. The penſion-bill was revived, and ſo powerfully ſupported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttleton, that it made its way through the lower to the upper houſe, where it was again loſt, upon a diviſion, after a very long and obſtinate debate.

The practice of preſſing ſeamen in order to man the navy, had long been a ſubject of complaint in England. Many expedients had been propoſed for remedying this evil; but as all of them had been found to be attended with conſequences more dangerous than the practice itſelf, none of them had ever been adopted by the government. The minority, however, who never failed to lay hold of every pretext, whether good or bad,

of

of condemning the meaſures of the court, raiſed, at this time, a moſt violent outcry againſt the miniſtry, on account of this invidious, though neceſſary cuſtom.

In order, therefore, to ſilence their clamours, a bill was introduced by Sir Charles Wager, for regiſtering all ſeamen, watermen, fiſhermen, lightermen, keelmen, bargemen, and ſea-faring men, capable of ſervice at ſea, throughout his majeſty's dominions.

The minority exclaimed againg this practice as of French origin, and tending to enſlave the moſt uſeful body of men in the kingdom. Sir Charles Wager owned that the ſcheme was borrowed from the French government, but declared, at the ſame time, that it was the beſt expedient he could find, and perhaps the only one that could be deviſed, for remedying the evil of impreſſing ſeamen. The meaſure, however, was rendered ſo odious by the violent declamations of the anti-miniſterial party, that it was judged moſt prudent to drop it for the preſent *.

The king, having, by meſſage, communicated to the houſe his intention of diſpoſing of the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederick of Heſſe; and expreſſed his hope,

* A. D. 1740.

hope, that the commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion with his daughter; they unanimouſly agreed to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe; and preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for having communicated to the houſe the intended marriage.

The houſe then proceeded to ſettle the ſupply. They provided for twenty-eight thouſand land-forces, beſides ſix thouſand marines. They enabled his majeſty to equip a very powerful navy: they voted the ſubſidy to the king of Denmark; and they empowered their ſovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences, not ſpecified in the eſtimates. In order to anſwer all theſe grants, they impoſed a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; and enabled his majeſty to deduct twelve hundred thouſand pounds from the ſinking fund: in a word, the expence of the war, during the courſe of the enſuing year, amounted to about four millions.

On the thirteenth day of March, a ſhip arrived from the Weſt-Indies, diſpatched be admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only, and demoliſhed all the fortifications of the place. The two houſes of parliament preſented a joint addreſs of congratulation upon this ſucceſs of his

his majeſty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit, which was magnified much above its merit. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the king thanked the commons for the ſupplies they had ſo liberally granted; recommended unanimity and concord to both houſes; and expreſſed his hopes, that the preparations, which he was making for carrying on the war in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, would be bleſſed with ſucceſs equal to the juſtice of his cauſe.

During the greateſt part of this winter, the poor had been grievouſly afflicted, in conſequence of a ſevere froſt, which began in December, and continued till the end of February. The river Thames was ſo thoroughly frozen over, that it was as much crouded with ſhops and carriages, as the ſtreets. The navigation was entirely ſtopped: the watermen were diſabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed by the cold, which was ſo extreme, that many perſons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to ſupply themſelves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price in proportion to the ſeverity and continuance of the froſt. A heavy ſnow, that

that had fallen when the froſt began, added ſtill to the public calamities. The ſtreets of London were rendered impaſſable; and the moſt melancholy accidents happened hourly in every quarter of the town. The ſhipping between London-Bridge and the river Medway was damaged, to the amount, as was ſuppoſed, of an hundred thouſand pounds. An almoſt total ceſſation of manufactures enſued; nor could the moſt induſtrious labourer procure the means of ſubſiſtence.

In this ſeaſon of diſtreſs many wretched families muſt have periſhed with cold and hunger, had not thoſe of opulent fortunes been inſpired with a remarkable ſpirit of charity and benevolence. Pity for the poor became now the reigning paſſion among the great, the rich, and the happy. The munificence of his majeſty and the royal family ſet the example to the nobility; who were readily followed, in ſo laudable a work, by all ſuch as had the power of relieving the wants of their fellow-creatures. Societies for the more equal diſtribution of private charities were every-where formed; and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in the kingdom were not aſhamed to become, not only ſtewards, but even collectors for the poor.

In

In the beginning of May, the king of Great-Britain ſet out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous meaſures for the proſecution of the war. In a few days after his departure, the marriage of the princeſs Mary was ſolemnized by proxy; the duke of Cumberland repreſenting the prince of Heſſe; and in June the princeſs ſet ſail for the continent. About the ſame time a ſloop arrived in England, with diſpatches from admiral Vernon, who, ſince his adventure at Porto-Bello, had made a fruitleſs attempt upon Carthagena, and reduced the port of San Lorenzo, on the river Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conqueſt.

Meanwhile the Engliſh miniſtry exerted themſelves with the utmoſt activity in carrying on their warlike preparations. They had wiſely reſolved to attack the Spaniards in their American ſettlements. Three ſhips of war, the Orford, the Kent, and the Lenox, cruiſing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with the Princeſſa, a large Spaniſh ſhip of the line, ſtrongly manned, and took her, after a very obſtinate engagement. But the aſſogue ſhips arrived with the treaſure in Spain, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Engliſh commanders, who were ſtationed in

in different latitudes to intercept them in their paſſage.

One camp was formed on Hounſlow-heath; and the ſix thouſand marines lately levied, were encamped in the iſle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the Weſt-Indies. Intelligence being received that a ſtrong ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips of war waited at Ferrol for orders to ſail to their American ſettlements, Sir John Norris ſailed with a fleet of twenty ſhips, from Spithead, with a view of attacking them in the harbour; and the duke of Cumberland ſerved as a volunteer in this expedition; but, after divers fruitleſs efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greateſt part of the ſummer in Torbay; and, upon advice that the French and Spaniſh fleets had ſailed to the Weſt-Indies in conjunction, the deſign againſt Ferrol was wholly laid aſide.

In September a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, commanded by commodore Anſon, ſet ſail for the South-ſea, in order to attack the enemy's colonies, and co-operate, occaſionally, with admiral Vernon acroſs the iſthmus of Darien: the ſcheme was well laid; and though it failed in its principal purpoſe, was afterwards productive of great glory to the commander, and of much advantage to the nation.

But the hopes of the public were chiefly centered in a formidable armament deſigned for the northern coaſt of New Spain, and his Catholic majeſty's other ſettlements on that ſide of the Atlantic. Orders had been iſſued for raiſing four regiments of foot in the Engliſh colonies of North America, that they might be tranſported to Jamaica, and join the forces from Great-Britain.

Theſe, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand marines, and detachments from ſome old regiments, were embarked in October, at the iſle of Wight, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great popularity, and diſtinguiſhed abilities; and they ſailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of twenty-five ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewiſe furniſhed with hoſpital ſhips, and ſtore-ſhips loaded with proviſions, ammunition, all ſorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. In a word, the miniſtry exerted their utmoſt endeavours to render the armament as complete as poſſible; and never had the nation more reaſon to hope for ſucceſs from any undertaking.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by three events, which had a conſiderable influence upon the ſtate of affairs in Europe. The firſt was the death

death of his Pruſſian majeſty, a prince by no means amiable either in his public or private character. He was ſucceeded on the throne by his eldeſt ſon Frederick, the reigning king of that realm, who has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf both as warrior and a legiſlator.

The ſecond, was the death of the emperor Charles the ſixth, emperor of Germany, the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, who expired at Vienna on the ninth day of October, and who was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldeſt daughter, the arch-dutcheſs Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Though the Pragmatic Sanction, by which ſhe ſucceeded as queen of Hungary, was guarantied by moſt of the powers in Europe, her ſucceſſion produced ſuch violent conteſts as kindled a bloody war in the empire.

The young king of Pruſſia was no ſooner informed of the death of the emperor, than he entered Sileſia, at the head of thirty thouſand men; ſeized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the Pragmatic Sanction. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony, who had never guarantied that ſanction, refuſed to acknowledge the arch-dutcheſs as queen of

Hungary and Bohemia, alledging, that they themſelves had pretenſions to theſe countries, as deſcendants of the emperor Joſeph, elder brother to the emperor Charles.

The third event was the death of the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, who named for her ſucceſſor, Iwan, or John, ſon of her neice, the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunſwic-Lunenburg-Bevern. She appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young Czar, though his own parents were alive; but this diſpoſition was ſoon ſet aſide.

The king of Great Britain, having returned to England from his German dominions, the ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the eighteenth day of November. His majeſty, in his ſpeech, obſerved, that the court of Spain having already felt ſome effects of the reſentment of the Engliſh, began to be ſenſible, that they ſhould be no longer able, by their own ſtrength, to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the Britiſh nation: that, if any other powers, agreeably to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt his declared enemies, the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms muſt call upon his parliament

liament to loſe no time in putting the nation in ſuch a condition, as might enable him to repel any inſults, and fruſtrate any deſigns formed againſt him, in violation of the faith of treaties; and he hoped any ſuch unprecedented ſteps, under what colour or pretence ſoever they might be taken, would inſpire his allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger, and would unite them in ſupport and defence of the common cauſe: that the great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opened a new ſcene in the ſtate of affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or remotely concerned: that it was impoſſible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what courſe the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts might lead them to purſue in this critical conjuncture; it ſhould be his care ſtrictly to obſerve and watch their motions; to adhere to the engagements which he had formerly contracted for maintaining the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with ſuch powers as were under the ſame obligations, to act ſuch a part as might beſt contribute to avert the dangers that threatened the tranquillity of Europe.

The king had no ſooner retired, than the duke of Argyle made a motion for an addreſs, to congratulate his majeſty, on his ſafe return to his regal dominions; to aſſure his majeſty that they would ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, in proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war, in which he was engaged; and, as a farther proof of their duty and affection to his majeſty's perſon, family, and government, to declare to him, that they would exert themſelves in their high capacity of hereditary great council of the crown, to which all other councils were ſubordinate and accountable, in ſuch a manner, as might tend to promote the true intereſt of his majeſty and his kingdoms, in this critical conjuncture.

This motion was ſupported by an eloquent ſpeech delivered by his grace, who fell, with great acrimony, upon the naval operations of the current year, particularly the miſcarriage of Sir John Norris's expedition againſt Ferrol. He even inſinuated, that ſecret orders had been given by the miniſters, that no attempt ſhould be made upon the Spaniſh coaſts in Europe; and that the ſailing of the grand fleet for the Weſt-Indies had been entirely owing to his majeſty's perſonal preſence. He likewiſe found fault with the royal ſpeech, which he ſuppoſed to be

be penned by the miniſter, for not naming the power that might preſume to attempt the limiting the operations of the war; and he finally declared, that the motion was wholly drawn up by himſelf, without the knowledge or privity of any other perſon.

In oppoſition to this propoſal, the earl of Holderneſs moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented, to acknowledge his majeſty's great wiſdom, and his regard for the true intereſt of his kingdoms, in reſolving to carry on this juſt and neceſſary war, in the moſt proper places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner; and in not ſuffering himſelf to be diverted from theſe prudent and ſalutary meaſures; to aſſure his majeſty, that, if any power ſhould attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war, ſuch an extraordinary ſtep would not fail to inſpire his parliament with a juſt indignation, and determine them to concur in all proper means for vindicating and defending his honour and dignity againſt any who ſhould preſume to offer him ſuch an inſult; to declare to his majeſty, that this houſe would ſtand by and ſupport him in fulfilling the engagements he had contracted, for maintaining the balance and liberties of Europe, on the event of the late emperor's death, as well as in the proſecution of the preſent

preſent war; and finally, to expreſs their unſhaken and unalterable fidelity and affection to his majeſty's perſon and government, and their ardent wiſhes, that all his enterprizes for maintaining the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people, might be bleſſed with ſucceſs.

Theſe two motions are exhibited at full length, becauſe they contain the ſentiments of the two great parties, which then prevailed in parliament. The duke of Argyle's aſſerting, that all other councils were accountable and ſubordinate to the houſe of peers, was an oblique reflection upon the great compliment, which had been paid to the commons in the laſt ſeſſion, when a meſſage was ſent to them demanding a ſupply, without any notice being taken of the lords: nor indeed was any thing more uſual than for the lords in the oppoſition to ſay, that, in conſequence of the miniſter's being a commoner, and the commons claiming to themſelves the ſole power of granting money, the houſe of peers was become a mere cypher.

Admiral Vernon had complained, in ſeveral of his letters, of his having been ſent out without any land-forces; and had boldly affirmed, that with fifteen hundred or two thouſand men, he could have performed

ſome

ſome exploits of the utmoſt conſequence and importance to the nation. The minority did not fail to lay hold of theſe circumſtances, which they improved very artfully to the diſadvantage of the miniſter. They even inſinuated with great acrimony, that the delicate manner, in which France was mentioned in the royal ſpeech, was a full proof of the miniſtry's being afraid to offend her; and that Sir John Norris, as well as admiral Haddock in the Mediterranean, had actually received ſecret orders not to oppoſe the ſailing of the Spaniſh fleet either from Cadiz to Ferrol, or from Ferrol to America.

All theſe objections were anſwered and refuted by the lord Hardwicke and others. They ſaid that with regard to the ſuggeſtion of the houſe of commons being ſubordinate or accountable to the houſe of peers, nothing could be more falſe or worſe founded; becauſe their powers were now independent of, and diſtinct from one another: that though the houſe of peers was a ſuperior juriſdiction, it did not therefore follow that the houſe of commons was now accountable to them in their parliamentary capacity, whatever they might formerly have been; and that it would be highly imprudent and impolitic at any time, eſpecially at

a time when unanimity was so necessary, to excite any dispute upon that head: that the matter of the late message had been before disputed and over-ruled, and it was not quite regular to revive it in a motion about an address: that with respect to admiral Vernon, his complaints, if he made any, could only arise from events; it had never been known, that he had demanded from the government a greater force than he had carried with him; nor indeed, as he only went upon reprisals, and as neither the declaration of war had been published, nor the act passed for retaining the enemy's possessions, at the time of his sailing, would it have been proper to have furnished him with such a body of troops, had he actually required them: that as to the tenderness, which was said to be shewn to France in the royal speech, the noblemen in the opposition were certainly mistaken, inasmuch as that power was plainly pointed out; and what was called a delicacy, was no more then a piece of decency commonly observed by one sovereign towards another, with whom he was not at open war: that in relation to the conduct of the admirals, it was somewhat unfair to tax them in general terms, the rather as every one knew how extremely precarious the winds and weather were and how

how little it was in the power of any officer to command them; but if any thing had been done amiſs in that reſpect, there was a proper time for inquiring into it: that the ſecond addreſs propoſed to be preſented, being more decent and more particular, diſcovered a greater confidence of the houſe in his majeſty; a confidence, they ſaid, which could not fail to be attended with the beſt effects abroad; where the queen of Hungary had no hopes of preſerving her dominions, but in the opinion, which foreign princes might entertain, of the cloſe and unalterable agreement between his majeſty and his parliament. Such was the ſubſtance of the arguments advanced, in a variety of ſpeeches, by the leading men in both parties. The queſtion being at laſt put was carried for the court, by a majority of twenty-eight voices,

On the firſt day of December, a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly deſiring he would give directions to the proper officers to lay before the houſe copies of the ſeveral orders and inſtructions ſent to admiral Vernon, from the time of his ſailing from England in 1739 to the twenty-fourth day of June in the current year; excepting, however, ſuch parts of

a time when unanimity was ſo neceſſary, to excite any diſpute upon that head: that the matter of the late meſſage had been before diſputed and over-ruled, and it was not quite regular to revive it in a motion about an addreſs: that with reſpect to admiral Vernon, his complaints, if he made any, could only ariſe from events; it had never been known, that he had demanded from the government a greater force than he had carried with him; nor indeed, as he only went upon repriſals, and as neither the declaration of war had been publiſhed, nor the act paſſed for retaining the enemy's poſſeſſions, at the time of his ſailing, would it have been proper to have furniſhed him with ſuch a body of troops, had he actually required them: that as to the tenderneſs, which was ſaid to be ſhewn to France in the royal ſpeech, the noblemen in the oppoſition were certainly miſtaken, inaſmuch as that power was plainly pointed out; and what was called a delicacy, was no more then a piece of decency commonly obſerved by one ſovereign towards another, with whom he was not at open war: that in relation to the conduct of the admirals, it was ſomewhat unfair to tax them in general terms, the rather as every one knew how extremely precarious the winds and weather were and how

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thoſe orders and inſtructions, as related to any particular deſign, yet remaining to be executed.

The motion was ſuppoſed to be grounded upon the ſecret intelligence, which Vernon himſelf had ſent to the minority: nevertheleſs it was but poorly defended, and the arguments advanced in ſupport of it were altogether inconcluſive. Mention was made of admiral Hoſier's expedition to the Weſt-Indies; in which, it was affirmed, no leſs than three admirals, thirty captains, one hundred lieutenants, and four thouſand private ſeamen, had periſhed in a moſt inglorious manner. Notice was likewiſe taken of the behaviour of the Engliſh fleet, which, when Gibraltar was beſieged, tamely ſuffered the enemy to ſupply their army with all kind of proviſions,. Theſe arguments, however, were deemed ſo foreign to the purpoſe, that ittle regard was paid to them by the houſe, and the motion was accordingly rejected by a great majority.

The anti-courtiers, not diſcouraged by this defeat, propoſed another addreſs to his majeſty, humbly intreating, he would be pleaſed to give orders to lay before the houſe, copies of all the letters written by vice admiral Vernon to the commiſſioners, or to his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, from the time

time of his leaving England to the twenty-fourth day of June laſt inclusive; as alſo, of all the letters written by the ſaid commiſſioners or the ſecretaries of ſtate to the ſaid vice-admiral, within the time above mentioned.

As this motion, in its preſent form, evidently tended to publiſh to the world the future operations of the war, the courtiers propoſed, as the moſt effectual means of preventing that inconvenience, an addition, importing, that ſuch letters ſhould be laid before the houſe, as far as they related to any ſupplies of ſhips, men, ſtores, ammunition, proviſions, and other neceſſaries. This amendment being readily approved, the addreſs was immediately preſented; but though the miniſter ſeemed to apprehend no danger from this quarter, the event was much other than he expected. The admiral, in ſome of his letters, complained bitterly of the ſtores which had been ſent him; and, in one particular paſſage, he affirmed, that they were not good enough for a Spithead expedition.

The minority, too, derived ſuch information from theſe papers, as furniſhed them with matter for another motion, propoſing, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, humbly beſeeching him to give or-

ders to lay before the houſe, the repreſentations, which admiral Vernon had made to the miniſtry or the admiralty, touching the want of more ſhips or more men, or concerning any intimation of the ſervices, which he could have performed, if he had been ſupplied with a few more ſhips and a ſmall body of land-forces. In ſupport of this motion, they alledged, that, without ſuch papers, they could not effectually enter upon an inquiry into the conduct of the war. They added, that, the Spaniſh fleet had been deſignedly ſuffered to ſail: and that the Spaniards had had full leiſure to fortify their poſſeſſions in America, and to provide them with all manner of ſtores.

It was urged on the other hand, that whatever inſtances Mr. Vernon might have made, they could be no directions to the government, who had every day reaſon to apprehend an invaſion: that, ſuppoſing the coaſts of Great-Britain had been diſfurniſhed of men and ſhips, in order to reinforce Mr. Vernon, and an invaſion, which was far from being unlikely, had taken place, how would the public have blamed the government for expoſing the nation to ſo much danger, merely to purſue chimerical, or, at beſt, poſſible conqueſts? that it was eaſy to talk of ſending out fleets, but the admiralty found

found it a very difficult matter to man them; nor could any thing be more inconſiſtent than the conduct of thoſe, who had taken ſo much pains to prevent the only way, by which ſhips might be manned without preſſing, and yet continued to rail againſt the weakneſs of the navy, and the hardſhips of preſſing. The queſtion being at laſt put, was carried in the negative by a majority of ſeventy-one againſt forty-four voices.

The reader will eaſily perceive, that the upper houſe was the great ſcene of political altercation during this ſeſſion: and it was no ſmall misfortune to the miniſter, that two of the leading members, and two of the principal officers not only in England, but even in Europe, the duke of Argyle, and the lord Cobham, were his declared and inveterate enemies. All the gentlemen of the army, indeed, in the lower houſe, were his profeſſed friends; but their authority was of little weight, when put in oppoſition to that of the peers. As he himſelf was but little acquainted with military affairs, he had been eaſily perſuaded to give his conſent, that the augmentation of the army ſhould be made, not by raiſing additional men to the old companies, but, on the contrary, by raiſing new regiments.

The minority were no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than they moved for an addreſs to declare to his majeſty, that the augmenting the army, by raiſing new regiments, as it was the moſt unneceſſary and moſt expenſive, ſo was it the moſt dangerous to the liberties of Great-Britain. Had this motion been brought to a debate, the court-lords muſt have been under great difficulties, as the propoſition itſelf was, in fact, indiſputable. In order, therefors, to extricate themſelves from this dilemma, they thought it moſt adviſable to reject the propoſal by a previous queſtion, which was accordingly done, though not without a vigorous proteſt entered by no leſs than twenty-four peers.

The critical ſituation of affairs in Europe: the ambition of his Pruſſian majeſty, who had invaded and ſeized the beſt part of Sileſia: the hoſtile intentions of the French court, who, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of neutrality, had ſent their fleet to the Weſt Indies, in order to aſſiſt the Spaniards: the irreſolution of the Dutch, who were over-awed by the French, and prevented from eſpouſing the cauſe of Great-Britain: the jealouſies and diviſions that prevailed among the northern powers, and ſeemed to threaten Chriſtendom with ſtill greater

greater calamities: theſe, and many other circumſtances, had obliged the Engliſh miniſtry to come to a reſolution of encreaſing the army to fifty-one thouſand, five hundred and fifteen effective men, excluſive of the troops on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment.

Though this number was no more than was abſolutely neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture; yet the minority exclaimed againſt it, as a huge ſtride towards arbitrary power, and as denoting a ſettled deſign to ſubvert the liberties of the people. They alledged, that none but young regiments had been ſent out with Sir Chaloner Ogle; that it was well known, that all the ſervice propoſed to be performed in America, was intended to be done by the marines, who had been raiſed but a ſhort time before. They farther obſerved, with great acrimony, that of all the officers who had gone abroad only one was a member of parliament; and that all the reſt, who were members, had been kept at home, in order to vote for the miniſter. This, it appeared, was merely the effect of accident, and the natural conſequence of employing marines in the ſervice; yet was it urged, as a heavy charge againſt the miniſter, and contributed greatly to encreaſe that load of odium, under which he already laboured.

The minority, eager to purſue the blow, made a motion for an addreſs to repreſent to his majeſty, that this houſe could not conceive the intended augmentation of land forces to be neceſſary, either from the preſent ſituation of affairs in Europe, or, as far as they could ſee, from any other reaſons that could be aſſigned; and moſt humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that, if he ſhould, however, think ſuch an augmentation abſolutely neceſſary, he would, at leaſt, be graciouſly pleaſed, as well for the preſent, as for the future eaſe of his ſubjects, to order it to be made in the moſt frugal manner, by ſuch an addition of private men to the preſent regiments, as his majeſty, from his own wiſdom and knowledge of the practice of moſt other countries, might judge to be moſt proper for military ſervice, and leaſt dangerous to the conſtitution.

Though there was nothing new in this motion, which had been fully diſcuſſed before; yet was it followed by a long and violent diſpute, during which the minority affirmed, that the miniſter had kept the old regiments at home, in order to overawe the reſentment of the people, now exaſperated, beyond all patience, at his meaſures.

The

The controverſy was unequally maintained on the ſide of the government. The example of the French, who had augmented their army by new regiments, was very injudiciouſly urged as a pattern to the Engliſh; and as it was well known, that his majeſty's forces, in his electoral dominions, had been augmented by additional men, the anti-courtiers improved that circumſtance greatly to their own advantage. The queſtion, however, being at laſt put, was rejected by a majority of twenty voices.

The minority, who had made all theſe motions, neither deſired nor expected they ſhould be carried. Their only intention, in making them, was to encreaſe, ſtill farther, the unpopularity of the miniſter, upon whom they now reſolved to make a direct and perſonal attack. This ſcheme had been previouſly concerted between the leading anti-courtiers in both houſes; and, as it was judged moſt proper to begin the attack in the lower-houſe, Mr. Sandys, on the eleventh day of February, went up to Sir Robert Walpole, and informed him, that in two days time, he ſhould bring a charge againſt him in public.*

Ac-

* Sir Robert was no ſtranger to the intended motion, nor to the day on which it was propoſed to be made, nor

Accordingly, on the day appointed, Mr. Sandys, at the end of a long and eloquent ſpeech, in which he inveighed, with great vehemence, againſt the adminiſtration, moved, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, chancellor and under treaſurer of the exchequer, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever.

The

nor even to the honourable gentleman's intention of acquainting him with it. He therefore received the intimation with the greateſt compoſure and dignity, and not without ſome mixture of contempt at the nature of the information; and, after deſiring fair play, he laid his hand upon his breaſt, ſaying

———*Hic murus aheneus eſto.*
Nil conſcire ſibi, nulli palleſcere culpæ.

Mr P. who, as uſual, ſat upon the bench with him, ſaid dryly, that that was falſe latin, Sir Robert wagered a guinea, that it was not; and a copy of Horace being immediately produced, and the words of the author appearing to be

———*Nullâ palleſcere Culpâ,*

Mr. P. took the guinea, and held it up with this ſarcaſtic obſervation, that it was the only guinea of the public money, that he had received for ſeveral years.

The arguments advanced in ſupport of this motion, were extremely weak and frivolous. Three precedents were adduced ſince the time of the Revolution; but it happened unfortunately for thoſe, who inſiſted on them, that all theſe were cenſures of members, who had been previouſly convicted of miſdemeanours by the houſe. It was likewiſe alledged, that the miniſter had deviated from that plan of policy, which he himſelf, in his impeachment of the earl of Oxford, had laboured to eſtabliſh; and in confirmation of their opinion, the treaty of Hanover was urged; a treaty, it was ſaid, which was plainly calculated to aggrandize the houſe of Bourbon, and depreſs that of Auſtria.

It was farther affirmed, that all the great expences, which the nation had incurred by augmenting the army, and paying ſubſidies to foreigners, were owing to that treaty; and that his majeſty had been led into this dangerous miſtake by the ignorance or perfidy of the miniſter, who had made him believe, that the emperor had, in conjunction with Spain, formed a deſign to place the pretender upon the throne of Great-Britain; a charge, for which, from the ſubſequent events, there never appeared to have been the leaſt foundation.

All

All these arguments were answered and refuted by Mr. Pelham, who observed, that the treaty of Utrecht was very imperfect: that the quadruple alliance was therefore formed, in order to supply the deficiencies of that treaty, by strengthening the emperor in Italy, and transferring, to him, the kingdom of Sicily, from the duke of Savoy; and, at the same time giving an irretrievable blow to the marine of Spain, by the sea-engagement fought by Sir George Byng in 1718: that the king of Spain was, by Britain, forced to accede to the quadruple alliance, which brought on the congress of Cambray; during the dependency of which, the emperor and the king of Spain concluded the treaty of Vienna; a treaty that was extremely prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain, and to which the treaty of Hanover was no more than a counter-ballance: that, as to the charge of an intention to set the pretender upon the throne of England, it was a thing, of which his majesty was fully convinced; and, as it was a matter known personally to himself, and had never been disproved, he had a right to make use of it, in his speech to the parliament.

It is remarkable, that many of the most violent Tories, in both houses, declared their dis-

diſapprobation of this motion, which they conſidered as the effect of perſonal malice and diſappointed ambition. The miniſter himſelf, during the whole debate, behaved with great temper and moderation. He was the laſt that ſpoke on the ſubject; and, in a moſt maſterly ſpeech, he recapitulated all the particulars of the general charge that had been brought againſt him, and ſhewed them to be devoid of all manner of foundation. At the ſame time he owned, with great magnanimity, that he was to be conſidered as the firſt miniſter; and that, if any ſtep had been taken by the government, which was either diſgraceful or diſadvantageous to the nation, the blame ought certainly to be charged upon him.

"Gentlemen," ſaid he, in the cloſe of his ſpeech, "have talked a great deal of Patri-
"otiſm: a venerable word, Sir, when right-
"ly underſtood. But, I am ſorry to ſay, that
"it has, of late been ſo much hackneyed a-
"bout, that it is in danger of falling into diſ-
"grace: the very idea of true patriotiſm is
"loſt, and the term has been proſtituted to
"the very worſt purpoſes. A patriot, Sir!
"why patriots ſpring up like muſhrooms; I
"could raiſe fifty of them within the four-
"and-twenty hours. I have raiſed many of
"them, Sir, in one night. It is but re-

"fuſing

" fuſing to gratify an unreaſonable, or an
" inſolent demand, and up ſtarts a patriot.
" I have never been afraid of making pa-
" triots, Sir; but I diſdain and deſpiſe all
" they can do.——No man, I believe, who
" ever had the honour of ſerving the crown,
" ever had ſuch an attack made upon him
" as the preſent motion; a motion, which
" gentlemen have been ſo long meditating,
" ſo long threatening, and which they had
" ſo much deſire to ſupport: but, Sir, has
" it been ſupported, has it been attempted
" to be ſupported, with even the ſhadow of
" evidence?—Yes, Sir, I have long heard
" of this motion, and let gentlemen con-
" tradict me if they can, when I ſay, I
" could have prevented it. By what means
" I leave the houſe to judge. But I choſe,
" Sir, they ſhould do their utmoſt; and I
" rejoice in this debate, let the iſſue of it
" be what it will, more than I ever did in
" any one thing, that has happened to me in
" the courſe of my life."

This ſpeech had the greater effect upon the houſe, as the miniſter, notwithſtanding the groſs and virulent invectives which had been thrown out againſt his perſon and conduct, had treated his enemies with decency and reſpect. In one part of it he paid a very delicate compliment to the Tories, who had

had diſapproved of the motion, and who had thereby ſhewn themſelves to be more guided by principle, than their allies among the Whigs. At laſt, the queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and ninety againſt one hundred and ſix.

The ſame motion was made in the upper houſe, and met with the ſame fate. The principal ſpeakers againſt the miniſter, were the dukes of Bedford and Argyle, the earls of Weſtmorland, Berkſhire, Carliſle, Abingdon, and Hallifax, the lords Haverſham and Bathurſt: his chief defendants were, the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Newcaſtle and Devonſhire, the biſhop of Saliſbury, the earl of Ilay, the lord Hervey, and the earl of Oxford.

This laſt nobleman was one of the heads of the Tory party, and had always diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſition to the miniſter: nevertheleſs, upon this occaſion, he ſpoke againſt the motion, not, as he declared, from any conviction which he had of the miniſter's innocence, but becauſe he thought the principle, upon which the bill was built, eſpecially as no legal evidence had been brought to ſupport it, was cruel, unjuſt, and unconſtitutional; and he was old enough, he added, to remember the hard

meaſure, which a miniſter of his own family, chiefly through the influence of the preſent miniſter, had received from general and unſupported charges.

This generous declaration had great weight with the houſe: and, indeed, the principal Tories either voted againſt the motion, or abſented themſelves from the debate; a conduct which expoſed them to the ridicule of their Whig confederates. At laſt, the ſubject being entirely exhauſted, the queſtion was put, and the motion rejected by a majority of forty-nine voices.

Immediately after the deciſion of this controverſy, the duke of Marlborough moved for a reſolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of puniſhment on any perſon, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or miſdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural juſtice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient eſtabliſhed uſage of parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the ſubject. This propoſition was ſo indiſputable, that the minority, aſhamed to oppoſe it directly, endeavoured to defeat it by the previous queſtion; but, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, it was carried in the affirmative, though

though not without a ſtrong and vigorous proteſt.

On the eighth day of April the king repairing to the houſe of peers, paſſed ſome acts that were ready for the royal aſſent. Then in a ſpeech to both houſes, he obſerved, that the war which had lately broke out, and been carried on in part of the Auſtrian dominions, and the various and extenſive claims, which were publickly made on the late emperor's ſucceſſion, were new events, that required the utmoſt care and attention; the rather, as they might involve all Europe in a bloody war, and, in conſequence, expoſe the dominions of ſuch princes, as ſhould take part in ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction, to imminent and immediate danger: that the queen of Hungary had already made a requiſition of the twelve thouſand men expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty; and, in order to fulfil his engagements, he had demanded of the king of Denmark, and of the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, their reſpective bodies of troops, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men each, that ſo they might be in readineſs to march forthwith to the aſſiſtance of her Hungarian majeſty: that he was concerting ſuch farther meaſures, as might obviate and diſappoint all the dangerous deſigns and attempts, that

might be formed or carried on in favour of any unjuſt pretenſions to the prejudice of the houſe of Auſtria in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of things: that during the time, when by reaſon of the approaching concluſion of the preſent parliament, it might be impoſſible for him to have their advice and aſſiſtance, many incidents might ariſe, which might render it neceſſary for him to incur ſtill greater expences for maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction: and that therefore in a conjuncture ſo critical, he had thought it proper to lay theſe important conſiderations before them, and to deſire the concurrence of his parliament, in enabling him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, the preventing, by all reaſonable means, the ſubverſion of the houſe of Auſtria; and the maintaining, upon a firm foundation, the liberties and balance of Europe.

This ſpeech was anſwered by affectionate addreſſes from both houſes, who promiſed that they would effectually ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks, which any prince or power, in reſentment of the juſt meaſures which his majeſty had ſo wiſely taken, ſhould make upon any part of his majeſty's territories or dominions, though not belonging to the crown of

of Great-Britain; and that in any future events, which might ariſe from the uncertain ſtate of things, and in which it might be neceſſary for his majeſty to put himſelf to larger expences, they would enable him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and to the defence of the liberties and independency of Europe.

The public buſineſs being entirely finiſhed, the parliament was prorogued on the twenty-fifth day of April,* and afterwards diſſolved by royal proclamation. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three commoners of great property and merit, were now ennobled, and created barons of Montfort, Ilcheſter, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colcheſter; and the king having appointed a regency, ſet out in May for his German dominions.

By this time the Britiſh armament had commenced hoſtilities in the Weſt-Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who had ſailed from Spithead, on the ninth of October, was overtaken by a tempeſt in the Bay of Biſcay, by which the fleet, conſiſting of about one hundred and ſeventy ſail, were ſcattered and diſperſed. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he proſecuted his voyage, and anchored in the neighbourhood of Dominica, with a

* A. D. 1741.

view of providing himself with wood and water in that neutral island, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land forces devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer by no means equal to such an important charge.

As the fleet coasted the island of Hispaniola in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner Ogle detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chace, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As these strange ships refused to bring to, lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued.

After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe under the command of the marquis D'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and settlements. As war, however, was not yet declared between France and England, the two com-

commanders gave over firing; and, after making mutual apologies for the miſtake which had happened, they parted as friends, with a conſiderable loſs of men on both ſides.

In the mean time Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined vice-admiral Vernon, who now found himſelf at the head of the moſt formidable fleet and army, that had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas, with full power to act as opportunities ſhould offer. The conjoined ſquadrons conſiſted of twenty-nine ſhips of the line, with almoſt an equal number of frigates, fire-ſhips, and bomb ketches, well manned, and plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries. The number of ſeamen amounted to fifteen thouſand: that of the land forces, including four regiments of American troops, and a body of negroes inliſted at Jamaica, did not fall ſhort of twelve thouſand.

Had this armament been properly employed, it might have achieved ſome ſignal exploits, that would have tended equally to the loſs of the Spaniards, and the advantage of the Engliſh. But, by the unhappy prejudices, with which the admiral was poſſeſſed, and by the fatal miſunderſtanding that prevailed between

tween the land and ſea-officers, the hopes of the public were entirely fruſtrated.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of January; and admiral Vernon did not ſail on his intended expedition, till towards the latter end of the month. His friends in England had always pretended, that he would make a direct attack upon the Havannah, which, of all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, was, by far, the moſt valuable and important. But theſe advocates ſeem to have forgot, that hatred againſt France was the admiral's ruling paſſion.

Influenced by this principle or prejudice, he made uſe of his great authority to obtain the conſent of a council of war, that the fleet ſhould beat up againſt the wind to Hiſpaniola, in order to obſerve the motions of the French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis D'Antin. It happened, however, that, before this time, the French admiral had ſailed for Europe, to recruit himſelf with men and proviſions, which he could not procure in the Weſt-Indies.

Vernon, diſappointed in this quarter, called another council of war, in which it was determined to proceed to Carthagena. The fleet being ſupplied with wood and water at Hiſpaniola, ſet ſail for the continent of New

New Spain, and on the fourth day of March, anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena.

As it was well known, that the Engliſh intended to attack this place, the Spaniards had taken care to put it in a proper poſture of defence. Admiral de Torres and don Blas de Leſo, a ſea officer of experience and reputation, had already arrived with the fleet, and reinforced the garriſon, which now amounted to upwards of four thouſand men.

The Engliſh forces were landed on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour known by the name of Bocca-Chica, or Little-mouth, which was ſtrongly fortified with caſtles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ſhips of war. There they erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral ſent in a number of ſhips to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. In this attack, the brave lord Aubrey Beauclerk, brother to the duke of St. Albans, and captain of one of the ſhips, was unfortunately ſlain.

The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the aſſault: the forts and batteries were abandoned by the enemy: the Spaniſh ſhips, that lay athwart the harbour's mouth, were taken or deſtroyed: the paſ-

paſſage was opened; and the fleet entered without farther oppoſition. Then the forces were re embarked, with the artillery, and ſailing up the harbour, or rather the lake that led to it, landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were oppoſed by ſeven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire.

By this time the miſunderſtanding between the admiral and the general had grown to ſuch a height, that all farther hope vaniſhed of any harmony or concord in their operations. Far from acting vigorouſly, in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reſerve, and ſeparate cabals; and each ſeemed more eager for the diſgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour and intereſt of the nation.

The general complained, that the fleet lay inactive, while his troops were harraſſed and diminiſhed by hard duty and ſickneſs. The admiral alledged, that his ſhips could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena; and upbraided the general with want of ſpirit and reſolution, in not attacking the fort of St. Lazar, which commanded the town, and might be taken by ſcalade.

Wentworth, ſtimulated by theſe reproaches, reſolved at once to try the experiment. Accordingly, a body of twelve hundred men march-

marched up to the attack; but, the guides being ſlain, they miſtook their way, and advanced to the ſtrongeſt part of the fortification, which they could not have mounted, though unoppoſed by the enemy.

Here they were overwhelmed with a continued ſhower of balls and bullets from the artillery of the Spaniards: Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the ſcaling ladders were found too ſhort: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: nevertheleſs, the ſoldiers maintained their ground for ſeveral hours, with great intrepidity, and, at laſt retreated, leaving about half their number dead upon the ſpot. The army was, by this time, ſo much diminiſhed, that they could no longer preſerve their footing on ſhore: beſides, the rainy ſeaſon had begun with ſuch violence, as rendered it impoſſible for them to live in camp. They were therefore re-embarked, and all hope of further ſucceſs entirely abandoned.

The admiral, however, in order to ſhew the impoſſibility of reducing the place by ſea, ſent in the Galicia, one of the Spaniſh ſhips which he had taken at Bocca-Chica, to cannonade the town, with ſixteen guns mounted on one ſide, like a floating battery. This veſſel, manned by detachments of volunteers

lunteers from different ſhips, and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls, and in very ſhallow water. In this poſition ſhe ſtood the fire of ſeveral batteries for ſome hours, without doing or receiving much damage: then the admiral ordered her to be brought off, in order, as he ſaid, to ſave her from ſinking.

This exploit was abſurd, and the inference which Vernon drew from it, altogether fallacious. He ſaid it was an inconteſtable proof that there was not depth of water, in the inner harbour, ſufficient to admit large ſhips near enough to batter the town, with any proſpect of ſucceſs. This, perhaps, might be true of that part of the harbour to which the Galicia was conducted; but, a little farther to the left, he might have ſtationed four or five of his largeſt ſhips a-breaſt, within piſtol ſhot of the walls; and had this ſtep been taken, when the forces advanced to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been reduced.

An enemy far more dreadful than the Spaniards now began to aſſail the Engliſh army. Sickneſs raged among them to a degree of peſtilence; and, according to the account of the general himſelf, no leſs than three thouſand

ſand four hundred and forty-five men periſhed, in the ſpace of two days. This dreadful viſitation determined the council of war to come to a reſolution to return to Jamaica, with the utmoſt expedition. Accordingly, the fortifications being entirely demoliſhed, the fleet ſet ſail, and arrived in Port-Royal, after a ſafe and quick paſſage.

Thus ended, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, the greateſt attempt that had ever been made in thoſe parts of the world, whether we conſider the ſtrength of the armament, the expence of the undertaking, or the expectations of the public. Vernon, inſtead of atchieving any thing that might retrieve the honour of the Britiſh arms, ſet ſail from Jamaica, with the forces in July, and anchored at the ſouth-eaſt part of Cuba, in a bay, which he denominated Cumberland harbour, in compliment to his royal highneſs, the duke.

The troops were landed and encamped at the diſtance of twenty miles farther up the river: but, on account of the unhappy miſunderſtanding, which ſtill prevailed between the admiral and general, no attempt was made upon the place, and the forces therefore were re-conveyed to Jamaica. Vernon was afterwards re-inforced from England by four ſhips of war, and about three thouſand

ſoldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired, and the people began to perceive that they had miſtaken his character.

The affairs of Europe were now involved in greater confuſion than ever. The king of Pruſſia had demanded of the court of Vienna, part of Sileſia, by virtue of old treaties of cofraternity, which were either obſolete or annulled, and promiſed to aſſiſt the queen with all the forces, in caſe ſhe ſhould comply with his demand: but theſe terms being rejected with diſdain, he entered Sileſia, at the head of his army, and proſecuted his conqueſts with great rapidity.

Mean while the queen of Hungary was crowned at Preſburg, after having ſigned a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the grand duke, her huſband, was, at her requeſt, conjoined with her for ten years in the gement. At the ſame time, the ſtates of Hungary refuſed to receive a memorial from the elector of Bavaria.

During theſe tranſactions, his Pruſſian majeſty made his public entrance into Breſlau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals ſurprized the town and fortreſs of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary. Prince Leopold of An-

Anhalt-Deſſau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the town by ſcalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyſki priſoners; and here he found the military cheſt, fifty pieces of braſs cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The queen of Hungary had appointed count Neuperg, one of the moſt experienced generals in Europe, to aſſume the command of her troops in Sileſia; but this officer had not been yet able to draw together the face of an army, or prevent his Pruſſian majeſty from bombarding the town of Neiſs. At laſt, however, he found means to collect a good body of troops, and matters had been now carried to ſuch extremities between the two courts, that all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed.

The king of Pruſſia had formed a reſolution to reduce Neiſs and Brieg, the two places of greateſt conſequence that held out againſt him in Sileſia; and Neuperg had orders, at all events, to force him to a battle. The two armies were pretty equal in point of number, each of them amounting to about twenty-five thouſand men; and both being equally eager for the combat, they met at Molwitz, a village a little to the northward of Neiſs.

The battle was obstinate and bloody. The Prussians were inferior in cavalry; but the king had taken care to intermingle with his horse a body of grenadiers, which supplied that defect. The engagement lasted from two in the afternoon, till half an hour past six, when the Austrians retired under the cannon of Neiss, after losing about four thousand men. The loss of the enemy was not much inferior: a great number of general officers were killed and wounded on both sides; and his Prussian majesty gave that day a signal proof that the best courage is acquired by practice and reflection; for he was seen to give way upon the first disorder of his troops. This was the case with Cromwell, the duke of Marlborough, and some of the greatest heroes of antiquity, who, like his Prussian majesty, discovered a kind of timidity in the first rencounter, but afterwards rose superior, not only to the calumny of enemies, but even to the praises of friends.

The battle of Molwitz, though by no means decisive, was extremely favourable to his Prussian majesty. It raised, considerably, the character of his troops, and the opinion that was entertained of his own military accomplishments. All Europe beheld, with amazement, a prince, who had never been bred to arms, form an army that fought like vete-

veterans, and which had foiled one of the greateſt and moſt experienced generals in Europe. This battle was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of Neiſs, which, though extremely well-fortified, and fully provided for a vigorous defence, ſubmitted after a ſiege of a few days.

Among the other powers, whom the queen of Hungary ſollicited for aid and aſſiſtance, were the States general, who, beſides being bound, by the moſt ſolemn engagements, to ſupport the Pragmatic Sanction, were under the ſtrongeſt obligations to the houſe of Auſtria, and to his Britannic majeſty. The king of Pruſſia, however, had foreſeen this application, and, before he entered upon hoſtilities, had ſent the ſtates a menacing meſſage, with regard to his pretenſions upon the eſtates of king William; and to give the greater force to theſe threats, he had cauſed an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men to be aſſembled on the Dutch frontiers.

It is matter of doubt whether the States, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of friendſhip, were ſincerely diſpoſed to afford aſſiſtance to her Hungarian majeſty; but, had they been ever ſo much in earneſt, theſe circumſtances muſt have over-awed their reſolutions. They were obliged, therefore, to confine themſelves to the more gentle me-

thod of entreaty and mediation. His Britannic majesty too, who was more likely than any other prince to effect an accommodation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, still continued his friendly offices for that purpose.

With this view, he ordered the earl of Hyndford, his ambassador, to join with Ginckle, the Dutch minister, in presenting a remonstrance to the king of Prussia, against continuing his troops any longer in the dutchy of Silesia. Though his Prussian majesty declared his intention to maintain possession of the territories he had seized; a step, he affirmed, which was no infringement of the Pragmatic Sanction, yet he discovered a strong inclination to compromise his differences with the court of Vienna, and to preserve, in the empire, that system of power which had so long subsisted, and in the establishing of which the house of Brandenburgh had had so considerable a share. He repeated his offers of friendship and money to her Hungarian majesty; but all his proposals were rejected with disdain.

That princess, naturally proud and haughty, was rendered still more presumptuous by the friendship of Great-Britain; and hearing, that the English parliament had come to a resolution not only to pay the Danes and

Hessians,

Heſſians, but likewiſe to ſupply them with half a million of money, ſhe ſeemed, from thenceforth, to bid defiance to her enemies, and to ſet no bounds to her revenge and ambition. Nay, her miniſters carried matters ſo far, that they formed the plan of a general confederacy againſt the king of Pruſſia, whoſe dominions were to be parcelled out among the ſeveral allies; and his Britannic majeſty, as elector of Hanover, was to have a proportionable ſhare.

Whether this project, for it never went farther, was ever communicated to the court of England, ſeems ſomewhat doubtful; but, if it was, it is univerſally allowed, that it was far from meeting with a favourable reception. His Pruſſian majeſty, however, found means, partly by the activity of his own emiſſaries, partly by the imprudence of the Auſtrian miniſtry, to come to the knowledge of this conſpiracy; and, as he had received no intimation of it from England, he inſtantly concluded, or affected to conclude, that it had been approved by his Britannic majeſty.

The character of that prince is ſo well known, that the intelligent reader need not be told, what an effect ſuch belief muſt have had upon his temper. He inſtantly diveſted himſelf of every friendly ſentiment towards the

the houſe of Auſtria and the Britiſh nation; and entering into the cloſeſt connexions with the court of Verſailles, reſolved to employ his utmoſt endeavours in raiſing the elector of Bavaria to the throne of the empire.

The councils of France had long been directed by the old cardinal de Fleury, who was now in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was rather cautious, than cunning, and poſſeſſed the art, above all other men, of engaging the affections of thoſe he converſed with. That air of candour and ſincerity, which in moſt ſtateſmen is affected, and then never fails to create diſguſt, was, in this worthy prelate, altogether natural, and produced the effect, which might reaſonably be expected. Diſtinguiſhed neither by the genius of Richlieu, nor the abilities of Mazarine, he was yet, while ſuffered to purſue his own plans, a more uſeful miniſter than either to his country.

He had been at ſome pains to win the friendſhip of the Engliſh, but at much more to preſerve the good will of the Dutch. To theſe laſt he repreſented, upon all occaſions, that his maſter was their protector and moſt natural ally; and this doctrine he inforced with the greater aſſiduity, as it tended to the preſervation of peace and tranquillity, which

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was always his conſtant and invariable maxim, In order to prevent a confederacy againſt France, he ſtudied often to divide, but never to provoke the Proteſtant powers of Europe.

Had the offers of his Pruſſian majeſty been readily embraced by the queen of Hungary, Fleury would have maintained his pacific ſyſtem againſt all the attempts of the oppoſite party; but no ſooner was it known at the court of Verſailles, that the houſe of Brandenburg had divided itſelf from that of Auſtria, than the plan of Fleury was entirely overturned, and the councils of France breathed nothing but war,

At the head of the party, which oppoſed Fleury, was the count de Belleiſle, who was extremely popular, and who, in a mature and advanced age, poſſeſſed all the fire and impetuoſity of youth. His family had ſuffered greatly by the tyranny and injuſtice of Lewis the fourteenth, to whom their intereſt had given ſome umbrage; but all their loſſes had been, in a great meaſure, compenſated by the favours and preferments heaped upon the count. He was brave, open, generous, polite and inſinuating, ingenious in forming his ſchemes, and rapid in carrying them into execution. Theſe qualities, joined to his diſtinguiſhed military talents, though accompanied with no great depth of political know-

knowledge, had recommended him to the favour and indulgence of his master.

Fleury, at first, beheld him without envy, and when he afterwards began to be jealous of his growing interest, the count had rendered himself too formidable for his rival. He had formed a strong party among the princes of the blood, and the prime nobility, who were eager for an opportunity of displaying their prowess. He represented to the king, that the time was now come, when France might effect, with the greatest ease, what her most celebrated princes, for ages past, had not, with the utmost profusion of blood and treasure, been able to accomplish, the depression of the house of Austria; and when she might, almost without opposition, raise to the throne of the empire, a stipendiary of her own, in the person of Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria.

No wonder that a doctrine which was so well calculated to flatter his vanity and ambition, should meet with a favourable reception from his most Christian majesty. He adopted the scheme with the utmost alacrity, and mentioned it to the minister in such positive terms, as plainly shewed he was determined to pursue it. Fleury saw the madness of such an undertaking; but finding it in vain to make any remonstrances, he

he desired Belleisle to draw up his plans of operation both in the cabinet and in the field.

The count obeyed, and his scheme, when finished, imported, that, before the month of June, 1741, fifty thousand French troops should pass the Rhine towards the Danube: that an army of about forty thousand should be formed on the side of Westphalia, in order to over-awe the electorate of Hanover: and that proper application should be made to the several princes of the empire, for agreeing upon some method of dividing among them the spoils of the Austrian family. This scheme was so well relished by the warlike party in the French councils, that they proposed its being carried into immediate execution; and, indeed, the state of affairs was such, as seemed to afford them a most tempting prospect.

The king of Great-Britain, as elector of Hanover, had not, at that time, above twenty-six thousand of his German troops on foot: the elector of Cologne was naturally disposed to assist his brother the elector of Bavaria, in ascending the Imperial throne: the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had great claims, in right of his wife, upon the Austrian succession: the elector Palatine had just made a convention, under the mediation

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of France, with the king of Pruſſia, by which that prince had reſigned his rights to the dutchies of Bergues and Juliers: the elector of Mentz was ſtrongly attached to the French intereſt: and the elector of Bavaria already conſidered himſelf as poſſeſſed of the Imperial crown.

But, notwithſtanding theſe promiſing appearances, the caution of the cardinal miniſter, and the wiſdom of his Pruſſian majeſty, gave ſome check to the natural impetuoſity of the French court. No formal treaty had yet been concluded with the latter; and, without that pre-requiſite, it was not to be ſuppoſed, that he would enter cordially into the views of the French miniſtry. Beſides, the ambition of his Catholic majeſty, who claimed the whole of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion in Italy, behoved to be ſatisfied, before ſhe would ſupply the court of Verſailles with the ſums neceſſary for fulfilling their engagements.

The delay, occaſioned by this irreſolution, alarmed the apprehenſions of the elector of Bavaria, leſt, after all his flattering proſpects he ſhould be deprived of the hopes of obtaining the Imperial crown. In order therefore to derive ſome advantage from the powerful combination, which had appeared in his avour, he offered to enter into a ſeparate treaty with the queen of Hungary;

gary; and even to acknowledge her title to that dignity, provided ſhe would cede to him the county of Tyrol and the Auſtrian Swabia. Finding, however, that his propoſals were rejected, and that her Hungarian majeſty treated him with the ſame contempt, which ſhe had ſhewn to the king of Pruſſia, he threw himſelf entirely into the arms of France, and reſolved to truſt his cauſe to the deciſion of fortune. No ſooner were the French miniſtry informed of the miſcarriage of the Engliſh attempts againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, then they determined at once to come to an open rupture, and to proſecute their hoſtile ſchemes with the utmoſt vigour. A large ſum of money, which they received from the court of Madrid, enabled them to put their troops in motion; and his Chriſtian majeſty publiſhed a declaration, importing, that, the king of Great Britain having aſſembled an army in Germany, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, was reſolved, without prejudice to the Pragmatic Sanction, to ſend a body of forces to the Rhine, in order to ſecure the freedom of the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to aſſiſt thoſe princes, who might call upon him for the performance of his engagements. Mean while the mareſchal count de Belleiſle was appointed to carry his

own ſcheme into execution, in the double quality of Ambaſſador and general; and he ſeemed ſo confident of ſucceſs, that, hearing the queen of Hungary had rejected all terms of accommodation with her enemies, and refuſed to agree to any diſmemberment of her dominions; he ſaid, that France would ſoon preſcribe her terms upon the baſtions of Vienna. Fluſhed with theſe ſanguine expectations, and fraught with the powers neceſſary to ſet the weighty machine of war in motion, he ſet out for Germany with the utmoſt expedition. He had an interview with his Pruſſian majeſty, who had now loſt all hopes of coming to an agreement with the queen of Hungary, and therefore entered, with the greateſt cordiality, into a treaty and alliance with France. This treaty imported, that the elector of Bavaria ſhould be choſen emperor, and ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Bohemia, the upper Auſtria, and Tyrol: that the elector of Saxony, if he joined the confederacy, ſhould enjoy the upper Sileſia and Moravia: and that the lower Sileſia, the town and territory of Neiſs, and the town and county of Glatz, ſhould remain to the king of Pruſſia. The mareſchal next repaired to the court of Dreſden; and the king of Poland being informed of the advantageous terms, that were ſtipulated in his favour, ordered his troops to join the

the allies, even before he had ſigned the treaty. Matters being thus ſettled, the elector of Bavaria publiſhed a manifeſto, explaining his reaſons for ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of the French troops as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia; and the elector of Palatine publiſhed another declaration, intimating, that he expected another body of French forces to guaranty the eventual ſucceſſion to the dutchies of Bergues and Juliers. Encouraged by theſe concurrent invitations, the French troops intended for Bavaria paſſed the Rhine, and thoſe deſigned for the dutchies of Bergues and Juliers croſſed the Meuſe, under the command of the mareſchal de Maillebois; while the king of France, by letters patent, created the elector of Bavaria his lieutenant general, and appointed the mareſchals Broglio and Belleiſle to aſſiſt him with their council. Each body of French troops amounted to about forty thouſand; and theſe, added to a party of Bavarians, compoſed an army of ſeventy thouſand men.

The elector, ſupported by ſuch a formidable force, reſolved immediately to proceed to action. After declaring war againſt her Hungarian majeſty, by the title of grand dutcheſs of Tuſcany, he made himſelf maſter of Paſſau, an Imperial city, and the key from Bavaria to the upper Auſtria: he

took poſſeſſion of Lintz, the capital of the latter territory; and, from thence, ſent a ſummons to the count Khevenhuller, governour of Vienna, and ſpread conſternation to the very gates of that city.

The French, being bent on their favourite ſcheme of effecting the ruin of the Auſtrian family, employed every means, by which they could hope to accompliſh their purpoſe. By the force of gold and intrigues, they prevailed on the Swedes to declare war againſt the Czarina, who was thereby diſabled from performing her engagements in favour of her ſiſter ſovereign: they perſuaded the elector of Cologne to make ſome threatning declarations againſt the Dutch, on account of a diſputed territory: they induced his Pruſſian majeſty to renew his menaces againſt the ſame republic, and to point his arms towards Holland as well as towards Hanover: and by the motions of Maillebois it appeared, that the true intention of the army, which he headed, was to overawe his Britannic majeſty, who remained ſtill in his electoral dominions, to oblige him to accept of a neutrality for Hanover, and to countermand the March of the Danes, Heſſians, and Britiſh troops that were deſtined for the aſſiſtance of her Hungarian majeſty.

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In theſe circumſtances, it would have been the heigth of madneſs in his Britannic majeſty to have perſevered in an unavailing obſtinacy, and, by that means, perhaps diſabled himſelf from ever again ſerving the cauſe which he had ſo generouſly eſpouſed. As all differences between the king of Pruſſia and the elector Palatine had been amicably adjuſted, there could not be the leaſt doubt with regard to the intention of Maillebois, who was then advancing towards Weſtphalia; nor was there a prince in Europe, who ſeemed either to have power or inclination to ſecond the efforts of the king of Great-Britain.

He had foreſeen every thing, but the obſtinacy of the queen of Hungary, which he in vain endeavoured to overcome, and which being altogether invincible, diſconcerted his beſt laid ſchemes. He again ordered his miniſters to repreſent to her, in the moſt lively colours, the fatal effects of expoſing herſelf to the reſentment of his Pruſſian majeſty. He declared, that it was only upon the ſuppoſition of her living in harmony with that prince, that he had formed his meaſures for her ſupport. Nothing would conquer her ſtuborn and inflexible reſolution. She even inſinuated, that ſhe would be much better pleaſed to ſee him enter into a neutra-

lity for Hanover, than to be laid under a neceſſity of diſmembering his dominions.

His majeſty was ſtill unwilling to take a ſtep, which, however neceſſary, would have a ſtrange appearance in the eyes of all Europe; but, finding it impoſſible to perſuade the queen of Hungary, by any conſideration, to depart from her favourite plan, he at laſt gave orders to his German miniſters to ſign the neutrality, by which his operations in favour of that princeſs were, for ſome time, ſuſpended.

But, though his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, was thus neceſſarily obliged to deſert her cauſe, he did not fail, as king of Great-Britain, to ſupport it to the utmoſt. The money which had been ſo ſeaſonably afforded her by the Engliſh parliament, contributed to deliver her from the terrible deſtruction, which ſeemed to hang over her. The king of Pruſſia having made ſome motions as if he intended to lay ſiege to Neiſs, count Neuperg, the Auſtrian general, threw a reinforcement into the place, and retired with the reſt of his army to the relief of Bohemia; where the duke of Bavaria, ever ſince the reduction of Lintz, had continued to act as natural ſovereign of the country. He levied ſubſidies, impoſed taxes, exacted from the inhabitants oaths of fidelity,

and

and allegiance, and had now advanced with his forces to the neighbourhood of Vienna.

Never was princeſs better ſerved, than was the queen of Hungary by her generals and armies at this dreadful juncture; and never did princeſs diſcover, upon any occaſion, greater firmneſs and fortitude of mind. Her generals were, moſt of them, men of diſtinguiſhed military talents, and ſtrongly devoted to her cauſe; which they conſidered as that of innocence oppreſſed by a powerful and wicked confederacy.

They knew, that ſhe had great reſources, of which ſhe could avail herſelf in caſe of neceſſity: they believed that ſhe might ſafely rely on the friendſhip of England: and they ſaw, that their enemies, by their rapid but inconſiderate progreſs, might ſoon entangle themſelves in inextricable difficulties.

Vienna was every day in expectation of a ſiege. The inhabitants had removed their moſt valuable effects to places of ſafety: great part of the ſuburbs, which, form the moſt beautiful part of the city, had been reduced to aſhes: and in theſe circumſtances, the queen, committing her affairs to the care of her huſband, of prince Charles his brother, and of her faithful generals, ſet out with her eldeſt ſon, for Preſburg in Hungary, where ſhe ſum-

ſummoned the four orders of the ſtate to aſſemble.

She appeared in the aſſembly with that elegance of form, and that dignity of diſtreſs, which never fail to inſpire the beholders with pity, love, and admiration. In no country in Europe is the latin tongue ſo generally underſtood as in Hungary; and her majeſty, who ſpoke it well and gracefully, addreſſed the Palatines in that language. "The perplexed ſituation," ſaid ſhe, "to "which, by the permiſſion of divine provi- "dence, I find myſelf reduced, is attend- "ed with ſuch dangerous circumſtances, "that I have no hopes of extricating my- "ſelf out of it, without ſpeedy and power- "ful ſuccours. Abandoned by my friends, "perſecuted by my enemies, attacked by "my meaneſt relations, I have no other re- "ſource left but to fly in this kingdom, "and commit my perſon, my children, my "ſceptre, my crown, to the care of my "faithful ſubjects. I do not heſitate to in- "truſt them with all: their loyalty and "bravery leave me no room to doubt, but "they will exert all their ſtrength, ſpeedily "and reſolutely, to defend me and themſelves "in this melancholy conjuncture."

What neither all the power of the queen's predeceſſors, nor even all the ſufferings of the

the Hungarians themſelves, had ever formerly been able to effect, was accompliſhed by this ſpeech. The aſſembly was rendered unanimous and loyal. With an enthuſiaſm of zeal, the Palatines drew their ſabres, and in the ſame language, exclaimed, "Let us "die for our king, Maria Tereſa:" for they always ſpeak of the ſovereign in the maſculine gender.

This proved, in the end, to be no tranſitory gleam of affection for her perſon, or of pity for her diſtreſs. Their actions were correſpondent to their words. The whole nobility of the kingdom was inſtantly on horſeback. Old count Palſy, whom the queen called her father Palſy, marched to the relief of Vienna, with thirty thouſand men: Khevenhuller had raiſed a body of twelve thouſand: Neuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thouſand: the grand duke, and his brother prince Charles, who was the delight of the Auſtrian ſoldiers, commanded another large army: and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenclau, count Traun, with many other officers of diſtinction, exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in defence of their beloved ſovereign.

It is probable, however, that all their efforts would have proved ineffectual, had the court of Verſailles adhered invariably

to

to the plan of operations projected by Belleiſle; or had the elector of Bavaria behaved with that ſpirit and reſolution, which the ambitious hopes he was encouraged to entertain might be ſuppoſed to inſpire. But, in both theſe particulars, the public expectations were greatly diſappointed.

Belleiſle, what by the timidity of the cardinal miniſter, what by the jealouſy of his coadjutor Broglio, was never furniſhed with above ten thouſand cavalry, though he had previouſly declared, that he could not anſwer for ſucceſs without double the number; and his troops, beſides, were left unprovided of many neceſſaries, which his allies could not afford them without reducing themſelves to the greateſt difficulties.

The elector of Bavaria too, inſtead of collecting all his forces, and advancing to the attack of Vienna, at a time when the inhabitants were overwhelmed with conſternation, and would probably have made but a weak reſiſtance, turned off to Bohemia, and allowed the enemy to recover from their pannic, and to prepare themſelves for a vigorous defence.

The allies, in general, conſidered this ſtep as a bad omen of their future ſucceſs; and the Auſtrians regarded it as a ſure preſage of their approaching deliverance. The king

king of Pruſſia exclaimed againſt it as a moſt imprudent and impolitic meaſure; but the elector of Bavaria pleaded, in excuſe, the advanced ſeaſon of the year, the ſtrength of the garriſon of Vienna, the neighbourhood of powerful armies of the enemy, and the ſtrong fortifications that had been added to the city.

The active Khevenhuller, who was univerſally eſteemed the braveſt and moſt reſolute of the Auſtrian generals, did not fail to improve this incident to the advantage of his miſtreſs. In conjunction with the grand duke, his brother prince Charles, prince Lobkowitz, and other general officers, he put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and advanced into Bohemia, with a view of covering Prague, or bringing the fate of Germany to the iſſue of a battle. He came too late to ſave Prague, which, partly through the weakneſs of the garriſon, which conſiſted only of three thouſand men, partly through the puſillanimity of Ogilvy the governour, ſurrendered on the very night on which it was attacked.

The Auſtrian generals were within a few miles of the place at the time of its being taken; but not conceiving themſelves ſtrong enough to hazard a battle, they drew off to Budweis, a town upon the Muldaw. There they

they divided their army into three bodies. The grand duke commanded one, prince Lobkowitz another, and Khevenhuller a third. The two firſt gained a great many advantages, which it would be foreign to our purpoſe particularly to enumerate; but the laſt obtained ſome, which were truly glorious, and which proved in the end to be deciſive of the conteſt.

The elector of Bavaria, upon his departure from Auſtria, had left count Segur, a French officer of reputation, with other generals, to guard the avenues of that dutchy. This injudicious ſcheme had obliged him to part with twenty-five thouſand of his beſt troops, in order to defend thoſe poſts; all of which were attacked and taken, with amazing celerity, by the brave Khevenhuller. Count Segur, the prince of Tingri, general Minucci, and lord Clare, afterwards a mareſchal of France, were obliged to fly with ſuch precipitation, that great numbers of their men were cut in pieces by the Auſtrian huſſars. Khevenhuller, encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, advanced to Lintz, the capital of the dutchy, which he immediately inveſted. The place was defended by a body of ten thouſand French, who continued, for ſome time, to make a vigorous reſiſtance; but Khevenhuller being joined by the army under the Grand

Grand Duke, carried on his attacks with ſuch impetuoſity, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, on condition of not ſerving for a year againſt the queen of Hungary.

Mean while the detached parties of the Auſtrians, under the generals Berns and Berenclau, and the two partizans Trenk and Menzel, were equally fortunate in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, which they had with the enemy. Thoring, the Bavarian general, having attempted to diſlodge Berenclau from an important poſt, which the latter had occupied, was bravely repulſed; and being attacked, in his turn, was totally defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand killed, and a great number wounded.

The mareſchal Belleiſle, who was now at Frankfort, was no ſooner informed of theſe diſaſters, than he upbraided the allies with their imprudent conduct, and complained bitterly, that his ſcheme had been ruined by the parſimony of the miniſter.

His Pruſſian majeſty, though his vote was engaged for the elector of Bavaria, deſpiſed the proceedings of the other allies; and acting at once as his own miniſter and general, gave daily proofs of his ſuperior abilities. Having reduced Neiſs, and thereby made himſelf maſter of the whole province of Sileſia, he returned to Breſlau on the ninth of

November, when he received homage from the ſtates of the dutchy, with great pomp and magnificence.

In order to ingratiate himſelf with his new ſubjects, he eaſed them of ſome heavy burdens and impoſts, which had been laid upon them by the Popiſh clergy. He detached count Leopold de Deſſau, with a body of twelve thouſand men, to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Glatz, which, after a long and obſtinate ſiege, was obliged to ſurrender; whilſt count Schwerin, another of his generals, ſubdued Olmutz, a place of vaſt conſequence on the confines of Moravia. With theſe events the campaign terminated, and the armies, on both ſides, were, ſoon after, put into winter-quarters.

Preparations, in the mean time, were making at Franckfort, for chuſing the elector of Bavaria, emperor. The queen of Hungary had made repeated inſtances to preſerve the vote of Bohemia in her own perſon, or in that of her huſband, as co-regent: but no regard was paid to her remonſtrances; and the elector was, by the unanimous voice of the college, raiſed to the Imperial dignity, the very day on which he received information of the misfortune he had ſuſtained in the loſs of Lintz.

His

His Britannic majeſty, who had returned to England in the month of October, ſaw the folly and madneſs of France in advancing to the Imperial throne, an emperor, who muſt either be ſupported by the court of Verſailles, or would otherwiſe join with the Germanic body, in purſuing ſuch meaſures as might render his dignity free and independent. For theſe reaſons he had given no oppoſition to the elector's elevation; but ſtill continued to cheriſh the ſame ſentiments with regard to public liberty, which he had always entertained. He had the pleaſure to ſee his opinion warmly eſpouſed by all his ſubjects, who were ſtrenuous for ſupporting her Hungarian majeſty, and who were juſt beginning to recover from the ferment, into which they had been thrown by the late elections for the new parliament.

Never had there been a more violent conteſt between the two parties, than what happened upon this occaſion. The miniſter, truſting to the great influence which he had poſſeſſed in the laſt parliament, and to the numerous majority by which the motion againſt him was rejected, had been too negligent in ſolliciting his friends in the new elections. The minority, taking advantage of this overſight, and of the general diſcontent that prevailed in the nation, exerted

themſelves with ſuch unwearied diligence, that they obtained an equality, if not a majority of votes.

The new parliament met on the fourth day of December, when his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, that, agreeable to the advice of his parliament, by whoſe advice and concurrence he had undertaken the preſent war, he had ordered the chief operations to be carried on in the Weſt Indies: that he needed not inform them of the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt her Hungarian majeſty; that was a matter too generally known to require any particular explanation: that had other powers, who lay under the like obligations with himſelf, been as punctual in fulfilling their engagements, the ſupport of the common cauſe would have been attended with leſs difficulty: that he had, purſuant to the advice of his parliament, ever ſince the death of the late emperor, exerted himſelf in ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; he had endeavoured, by the moſt proper and early applications, to induce other powers, who were equally engaged with him, and united by common intereſt, to concert ſuch meaſures, as ſo important and critical a conjuncture demanded; and where an accommodation ſeemed to him neceſſary, he had laboured to recon-

reconcile thoſe princes, whoſe union would have been the moſt effectual means to prevent the miſchiefs which had happened, and to ſecure the intereſt and ſafety of the whole: that, although his endeavours had not hitherto had the deſired effect, he could not but ſtill hope, that a juſt ſenſe of the common and imminent danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations: that he hoped the parliament would think it expedient to put the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable it to aſſiſt its friends, and defeat its enemies; and he flattered himſelf they would make it their ſtudy to proceed with unanimity, vigour and diſpatch, in all their deliberations.

It was not long before the miniſter was ſenſible of the great advantage, which his enemies had gained over him. The addreſs was moved for in very general, or rather in very vague terms. It gave no aſſurance to his majeſty, that they would aſſiſt him in defending his electoral dominions, in caſe they were attacked.

It barely promiſed, that they would grant ſuch ſupplies, as ſhould enable his majeſty, not only to ſupport his friends and allies, at ſuch times, and in ſuch manner, as the exigency and circumſtances of affairs ſhould require, but alſo to oppoſe and defeat any at-

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tempts that ſhould be made againſt his majeſty, his crown, and kingdoms, or againſt thoſe, who, being equally engaged with his majeſty, by the faith of treaties, or united by common intereſt or common danger, ſhould be willing to concert ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be found neceſſary and expedient for maintaining the ballance of power in Europe.

However exceptionable this addreſs, the miniſter did not chuſe to bring it to a diviſion. He even agreed to leave out a paragraph, which was recommended by one of the court-members, approving of the manner in which the war with Spain had been proſecuted.

The minority exulted in the victory they had gained. Mr. Pulteney attributed the miniſter's condeſcenſion to a ſenſe of guilt and a dread of puniſhment; and, by way of inſtructions to the new members, he entered into a long, but ſpirited recapitulation of all the charges, which had been brought againſt him, from the time of his entering into the ſervice of the crown. He inveighed particularly againſt the egregious blunders, that had been committed in the management of the war; and, being tranſported by the violence of his paſſion, he accuſed

cuſed him of an attachment to the enemies of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The miniſter repelled this, and other ridiculous charges urged againſt him, with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and reſolution. He obſerved, that it was in every man's power, when an unbounded liberty of ſpeech was granted, to blacken, in general terms, the moſt unexceptionable characters; and that he had as good a right to make uſe of a general defence, as his enemies had of a general impeachment: that of all the atrocious charges which had been brought againſt him, not a ſingle fact had been attempted to be proved; but he was willing to come to cloſe quarters; and, if the gentlemen on the other ſide of the queſtion had a mind to name a day for conſidering the ſtate of the nation, he would readily ſecond the motion.

This challenge was accepted: the addreſs, without any mention of the Spaniſh war, was voted: and the twenty-ſecond day of January was fixed for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.

The coldneſs of the addreſs tended greatly to the prejudice of the miniſter. His mercenary friends, ſuſpecting that his power was upon the decline, began, by degrees, to forſake him; and thoſe, who followed him from principle, imagined, that ſome ſtronger aſſu-

aſſurances were due to his majeſty, conſidering the noble efforts, which he had lately made, and the danger to which he had expoſed his electoral dominions; eſpecially as the French had already broke the ſtipulated neutrality, and were, at that very time, threatening to take up their winter-quarters in the electorate of Hanover.

The firſt piece of miſconduct, which the miniſter committed, was the putting up, for chairman of the committee of elections, a man, who was little beloved, and leſs eſteemed by either party, againſt one, whoſe intereſt was warmly eſpouſed by one faction, and whoſe merits were acknowledged by both. This queſtion being decided againſt the miniſter, threw a mortal damp upon the ſpirits of his friends, and redoubled the courage and alacrity of his enemies.

Theſe laſt now formed themſelves into regular aſſemblies, and held frequent meetings, in order to concert the means of maintaining, improving, and purſuing their ſucceſs; and the miniſter began to be ſenſible, that matters muſt ſoon be brought to extremities.

Had he been guided ſolely by a regard to his own intereſt, he needed not have long remained in ſuſpence. He might inſtantly have

have adopted the ſame expedient, which he ſoon after embraced. But the remonſtrances of his friends, who muſt all follow his fortune, prevailed on him to continue in the houſe, till a few of the moſt important controverted elections were determined.

Though he knew his perſon was entirely ſafe, he was yet willing to leave all ſecure behind him, and to defeat any ſcheme that might have been laid for attacking him with an impeachment by any violent reſolutions. Beſides, he was deſirous to obtain for his friends, eſpecially thoſe who had followed him from principle, the beſt terms that could be obtained. Moreover, as he knew the perſons and characters of thoſe, who were to ſucceed in the new miniſtry, he was reſolved, before he reſigned, to ſtipulate the manner in which they ſhould ſerve his majeſty.

The Weſtminſter election was the favourite point with the gentlemen in the oppoſition; becauſe it afforded the faireſt handle againſt corruption and a ſtanding army. Some riots have happened on this occaſion, the juſtices, who preſided, had been obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the military power.

The cauſe of the city was managed by Mr. Murray, now lord Mansfield, and by Mr.

Mr. Evans: that of the ſitting members was defended by Mr. Clarke, and another lawyer. The matter was long and learnedly examined: at laſt, after a variety of ſpeeches, the election was declared void by a majority of two voices. The high bailiff was taken into cuſtody; and the three juſtices, who ſent for the ſoldiers, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the houſe.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the miniſter continued to give his attendance: he even carried ſeveral points of no ſmall conſequence againſt his enemies; and threw out ſome broad hints, that he had it ſtill in his power to diſappoint their expectations.

Of the truth of this they were but too fully convinced. The oppoſition was compoſed of very different, and indeed of oppoſite ingredients. Some of the members were Jacobites; others were Papiſts, at leaſt in principle: ſome were violent Tories, who could not be reconciled to the court upon any terms; others were ſtaunch Whigs, of narrow views, but upright intentions, who believed the conduct of the miniſter was really prejudicial to the nation: and there were not a few, who were moderate Whigs, of more enlarged ſentiments, though perhaps not more virtuous principles, who would have had no objection againſt tread-

treading in the ſteps, which the miniſter had purſued, and who knew that the only conteſt with all men of ſenſe and all friends to the government, was about the poſſeſſion of power and the enjoyment of places. A correſpondence was now opened between theſe laſt, and ſome of the leading perſons about his majeſty; and a ſcheme was laid for the removal of the miniſter, and a change in the adminiſtration, without producing any civil convulſion.

The miniſter continued to give his attendance till the ſecond day of February*, when the deciſion of the Chippenham election was carried againſt him by a majority only of one vote; and having been, in the courſe of the debate, treated with great ſeverity, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby declared, that he would never enter it more.

This declaration was not ſo ſoon expected either by his friends or his enemies; but his reſolution was founded upon the beſt and moſt generous principles. He could have divided his enemies, and maintained himſelf in a dangerous uneaſy poſſeſſion of power; but he plainly foreſaw, that ſuch a ſtep would continue, if not widen, the breach in the royal family; a circumſtance that

* A. D. 1742.

that might be attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences to his royal maſter.

Doctor Secker, biſhop of Oxford, and now archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been ſent to the prince of Wales, with a meſſage, importing, that, if his royal highneſs would write a ſubmiſſive letter to his majeſty, fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his yearly income; two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be given to pay his debts; and he and his friends ſhould be re-admitted into favour, and ſuitable proviſions ſhould be made for them all.

The prince replied with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of duty, that he was willing to throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet; but that he thought Sir Robert Walpole ſo great a bar between his majeſty and his people, that he could agree to no terms, till he was removed. It was this anſwer, that determined the miniſter to withdraw from power, and to reſign his places; which he immediately did, after having been, by his majeſty, created baron of Haughton, viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford.

Though the plan of power in the ſucceeding miniſtry had been already ſettled, yet the ſecret was imparted but to a few; and an unuſual ferment happening in parliament, his majeſty came, on the third day of February,

bruary, to the houſe of peers, and after paſſing the malt-bill, ordered the chancellor to acquaint both houſes, that it was his pleaſure they ſhould adjourn to the eighteenth of the month.

Had the opinion of ſome of the moſt furious leaders of the minority been followed, his majeſty's pleaſure, in this particular, would have been totally diſregarded. They affirmed, that an adjournment, at that time, was an expedient contrived by the late miniſter and his friends, in order to defeat the glorious purpoſes of the oppoſition: and that they ought to run all riſques, rather than agree to ſuch a meaſure.

This propoſition, had it been admitted, muſt neceſſarily have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, and would have produced an almoſt total diſſolution of government. Mr. Pulteney, who was no ſtranger to the approaching coalition, but who ſtill continued to be truſted by his party, ſpoke for the adjournment with great force of reaſon; and his opinion had ſo much weight, that the houſe acquieſced in it by a conſiderable majority.

Immediately after the reſignation of the miniſter, a great meeting of all the gentlemen in the late oppoſition was held at the Fountain tavern in the Strand, the uſual place of

rendezvous upon ſuch occaſions. The intention of this meeting was, to concert the means of bringing the late miniſter to juſtice, and of carrying into execution the great conſtitutional points, for which they had ſo long contended.

The coldneſs of Mr. Pulteney and others, who were privy to the ſecret accommodation, alarmed conſiderably the ſuſpicions of thoſe, who were entirely ignorant of that circumſtance; but the duke of Argyle, who had great influence with the whole aſſembly, having, in a manner, undertaken for the conduct of the leading members, they came to a reſolution of appearing at court, and of making their humble ſubmiſſion to his majeſty. Accordingly, being headed by the prince of Wales, who had long continued to countenance their proceedings, they waited on the king, who received them graciouſly, and ordered the prince's guards to be reſtored.

It ſoon appeared, that the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, was far from altering the meaſures of the miniſtry, though ſome changes in the higher departments of government were abſolutely neceſſary. Mr. Sandys, member for Worceſter, who had long perſevered in oppoſing the late miniſter, and had lead on the attack againſt him in par-

parliament, was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and a lord of the Treaſury.

The earl of Wilmington was conſtituted firſt commiſſioner of that board. Lord Harrington, being dignified with the title of earl, was declared preſident of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Argyle was made maſter-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majeſty's royal regiment of horſe-guards, and field-mariſchal and commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but, ſoon after conceiving ſome diſguſt, he reſigned all his employments with the utmoſt indignation.

The marquis of Tweedale was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; a poſt which had been long ſuppreſſed. Mr. Pulteney was ſworn of the privy-council; but, agreeable to the promiſes which he had made to the party, declined accepting of any place. The earl of Winchelſea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the reſignation of the duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair was appointed field-mareſchal of all his majeſty's forces, and ambaſſador-extraordinary to the States-General.

In the mean time a moſt prodigious ferment began to prevail in the nation. Every

petty borough, whoſe repreſentative had oppoſed the late miniſter, conſidered itſelf as the prime cauſe of his removal, and thought it had a right to dictate to parliament. In conſequence of this prepoſſeſſion, addreſſes and inſtructions rolled in from all quarters of the kingdom.

The cities of London and Weſtminſter lead the way, and, the terms they inſiſted on not being practicable, they threatened a total diſſolution of government. A rigid place and penſion bill, excluding from parliament every ſervant of his majeſty, was conſidered as an indiſpenſable prerequiſite. The repeal of the ſeptennial act, and the revival of triennial, if not of annual, parliaments, was loudly demanded; and terrible menaces were thrown out of taking ſevere and ſpeedy vengeance upon the late miniſter and all his adherents.

Nay, ſome of the inſtructions declared war againſt a ſtanding army; though they allowed the wiſdom of ſupporting the queen of Hungary: and many of them propoſed the diminiſhing, if not the aboliſhing almoſt all taxes; though they agreed in the neceſſity of proſecuting the Spaniſh war with the utmoſt vigour.

The oppoſition made to theſe and the like demands, which, however ridiculous, had

had been actually urged by the late minority, ſoon convinced the public, that Sir Robert Walpole had found means to diſconcert the party; and that the new miniſters, inſtead of purſuing the meaſures they had recommended, would continue to tread in the ſteps of their predeceſſors.

The people, enraged by this diſcovery, exclaimed with great vehemence, that they had been deceived and betrayed; and that an infamous compromiſe had been made between the old and the new miniſters for ſcreening the earl of Orford. The gentlemen, who had accepted of places, profeſſed themſelves ready to enter upon any meaſures for doing juſtice to the nation, and deſired their accuſers in parliament to point out the method, in which they ſhould proceed. This was a circumſtance, in which the diſcontented party themſelves were far from being agreed. They reſolved, however, without loſs of time, to begin their attack upon the late adminiſtration; and they determined to aſſail them in that quarter, where they imagined they were moſt vulnerable, the management of the Spaniſh war.

From the firſt of September, 1739, to the ſixteenth of November, 1741, about three hundred and thirty-ſeven Engliſh ſhips had been taken by the enemy, and, with

their crews, had been carried into the Spaniſh harbours; and the value of the captures was ſuppoſed to amount to the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds. It is certain, nevertheleſs, that the Engliſh had taken prizes from the enemy, far ſurpaſſing that ſum in value; but no allowance was made for theſe in the applications preſented by the Engliſh complainants. The attack was begun by the merchants of London, who, in a moſt pompous cavalcade, went to the houſe of commons, and delivered a petition, containing an impeachment of the adminiſtration in general, and of the board of admiralty in particular.

The petition imported, that the loſſes of the merchants had, of late, encreaſed: that moſt of the captures, made by the Spaniards, had happened in or near the Britiſh channel or ſoundings; and that no cartel being likely to take place, many of the captive ſeamen had entered into the enemy's ſervice: that all theſe misfortunes might have been prevented, conſidering the weakneſs of the enemy by ſea, had a few of his majeſty's ſhips of war been properly ſtationed, and the act of parliament, made in the year 1707, for the beteer ſecuring the trade of this kingdom by cruiſers and convoys, been ſtrictly obſerved: that all Europe beheld with

with ſurprize, and the Engliſh ought to behold with regret, the encreaſe of the Spaniſh marine in the Mediterranean, and of their privateers from St. Sebaſtian, owing to the encouragement they met with in taking Britiſh ſhips: that various neglects and delays had been committed in appointing convoys; and that, out of the few that had been granted, ſome of the commanders had paid ſo little regard to the ſhips under their care, that they had deſerted them at ſea, and left them a prey to the enemy: that it was well known, that the American trade had not been properly protected; and that many ſhips had been brought into danger, by the arbitrary cuſtom of impreſſing their ableſt hands out of thoſe, which were homewards bound, before they had made the land, or arrived at a place of ſafety, and out of thoſe, which were outward-bound in the proſecution of their voyages; that the petitioners, however, did not complain of ſuch captures, as were the unavoidable conſequences of a war, but of ſuch only as had been occaſioned by a want of due care for the protection of trade, which had, during the whole war, been ſhameſully neglected: that they were far from repining or murmuring at ſo neceſſary and juſt a war; but they hoped the houſe would think it reaſonable,

that

that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for the future protection of the trade and navigation of theſe kingdoms.

Soon after, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, preſented another petition of the like import, but conceived in terms much more indecent and injurious to the government. They even had the aſſurance to accuſe the miniſtry of a ſettled deſign to transfer the trade of England to her dangerous and powerful rival; and loaded them with many other charges of a ſtill more black and invidious nature. Petitions to the ſame effect were tranſmitted from Briſtol, Liverpool, Norwich, and moſt of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom.

Theſe were referred to a committee of the whole houſe, which immediately proceeded to take the matter into conſideration. A great number of papers, ſuppoſed to be neceſſary for their information, were ordered to be laid before them: one, in particular, containing an account of the men of war employed, from the beginning of the preceding year, as cruizers, for the protection of trade, on this ſide Cape Finiſterre, their ſtations, and their continuance in theſe ſtations; another, exhibiting the journals of the commanders of ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips

of

of war, as had been employed, ſince the commencement of the war, as cruizers for the protection of trade on this ſide Cape Finiſterre.

To theſe articles were added, an account of all the ſhips of war appointed for convoys, ſince the beginning of the war, with the intelligence they had given to traders, and the times of their ſailing, together with the reports of the lords of the admiralty, upon the petitions of the merchants, relating to their loſſes during the war. Theſe, and other neceſſary lights being obtained, the committee proceeded with great zeal in the inquiry.

Notwithſtanding the plauſible air of the petitions that had been offered, it is certain they were deſtitute of all real foundation. The miniſtry, before the commencement of the war, had foreſeen and foretold, that the Engliſh merchants would be much greater ſufferers than they imagined; chiefly on account of the extenſive nature of their trade, which did not admit of its being equally protected in every quarter of the world. The vaſt ſquadrons, that had been fitted out for the Weſt Indies, the Mediterranean, and the Channel, had rendered it impoſſible to ſtation more cruizers for the protection of the trade, than had actually been furniſhed; and

and the perpetual complaints entered by the merchants againſt preſſing men, were very inconſiſtent with the applications which they now thought proper to make,

It appeared, that the number of ſhips alledged to be taken (admitting, what by no means could be admitted, the account to be exactly ſtated) was very moderate, when compared to the great number of Engliſh captures in the two firſt reigns after the Revolution. In the former reign, no leſs than four thouſand Engliſh ſhips had been taken by the enemy; and in 1707, upon a like complaint of the merchants, it was proved, that, in the ſpace of about two years, eleven hundred and forty-ſix Engliſh ſhips had been taken by the enemy, and that too at a time, when the merchants had not one half of the merchant ſhips, that they had at the period of the petition being preſented. Add to this, that the number of Britiſh ſeamen, ſuppoſed to be in the enemy's hands in the year 1742, did not amount to four thouſand; whereas, it was admitted by the warmeſt friends to king William's memory, that, in his time, fifteen thouſand Engliſh ſeamen had been exchanged with the enemy; and in 1707, though the war had not continued above five years, upwards of twenty thouſand had been made priſoners by the enemy.

The

The merchants choſe to employ Mr. Glover, one of their own body, to manage their cauſe, and ſum up the evidence. All that this gentleman, after a moſt partial hearing in his favour, could make out, amounted to a very few inconſiderable neglects or overſights, occaſioned by a vaſt multiplicity of buſineſs upon the hands of the Admiralty.

Such, however, was the temper of the houſe, that the moſt frivolous circumſtances were ſwelled into atrocious charges; and Sir John Barnard, chairman of the committeee, reported, that it appeared to the committee, that, notwithſtanding the repeated applications of the merchants to have cruizers properly ſtationed for the protection of the trade of this nation from the privateers of Spain, the due and neceſſary care had not been taken to keep a proper number of his majeſty's ſhips employed in that ſervice, more eſpecially, in and near the Channel and ſoundings; for want of which, many ſhips had been taken by the enemy, ſome of them of a conſiderable value, to the great loſs of many of his majeſty's ſubjects, the great advantage and encouragement of the enemy, and the diſhonour of this nation: and that the detention of the ſhips bound to Portugal, for near twelve months, by the refuſal of protections for ſome time, and the delay of convoys

voys afterwards, gave our rivals in trade an opportunity of introducing a new ſpecies of their woollen manufactures in Portugal, to the great detriment of this kingdom. Upon theſe reſolutions, Sir Robert Godſchall, lord-mayor of London, and Sir John Barnard, were ordered to bring in a bill for the better protecting and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom in time of war,

Among the many abſurdities contained in this bill, one was a clauſe enacting, that none of his majeſty's ſhips, which ſhould be ſtationed at any of our ſettlements abroad, ſhould leave or quit their ſtations, under pretence of going to careen or refit, or under any pretext whatſoever, without an order from the lord high admiral, or commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, for the time being.

Notwithſtanding the inhumanity of this clauſe, and the ridiculous nature of every other part of the bill, it paſſed through the lower houſe, and was preſented to the upper. There, however, it met with a more vigorous oppoſition. Its defects and inconſiſtencies were ſo well expoſed by the earl of Winchelſea, who was then at the head of the admiralty, that, in ſpite of all the efforts that were made in its favour, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-four voices.

The

The rejection of this bill gave freſh uneaſineſs to the anti-miniſterial party in both houſes; and ſome of the bittereſt enemies of the earl of Orford began ſoon to wiſh, that he had not ſo precipitately quitted his power. It is a circumſtance that redounds greatly to his honour, that his friends in parliament ſtill oppoſed every thing, which they would have oppoſed, had he continued at the head of the adminiſtration.

Nothing, but the regard which he had for the public ſervice and his maſter's intereſt, could have prevented him from ſtill forming ſuch a party, as would have entirely deſtroyed the whole political ſyſtem of the new miniſtry. Some of the more violent Tories actually made advances for that purpoſe; but as it was eaſily perceived by the earl of Orford, that their ſole intention was to diſtreſs the meaſures of the government, all their offers were flatly rejected.

It is certain, however, that ſome of the new miniſters were filled with the moſt terrible apprehenſions of ſome ſuch coalition; and in order to prevent a combination, which would have proved fatal to their power, they renewed their profeſſions of being ſtill ready to act up to their former principles.

The violent Tories took them at their words. The place and penſion-bill, and that for repealing ſeptennial parliaments, had been regarded as the great criterions of the party, during their late oppoſition; and it was now determined to put the ſincerity of the preſent adminiſtration to thoſe teſts. The people had a ſtronger averſion to penſioners than placemen. A bill was introduced for excluding the former from ſitting in parliament. It went awkardly through the lower houſe and was rejected in the upper. The place bill, though greatly modified, met with the ſame fate.

It was generally thought, that the motion for repealing the ſeptennial act would have been approved; but when it was made by Sir Robert Godſchal and ſeconded by Sir John Barnard, it was rejected by a majority of twenty voices. Among thoſe, who ſpoke againſt it, were Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, who having, during the late oppoſition, been always the chief promoters of it, were thereby expoſed to a great deal of abuſe; and their conduct, it muſt be owned, was, at firſt ſight, extremely unaccountable.

But the truth is, when examined with a candid and impartial eye, it was both wiſe and rational. They had now learned, that there

there was a wide difference between the ſpeculative and practical part of government; and that, whatever reflections might have been thrown on the late miniſtry, for oppoſing this and many other popular motions, the public buſineſs could not have been carried on, had they actually taken place.

The nation was then in a ferment; and that ferment was likely to continue: and had a majority of new members been returned, filled with prejudices againſt the adminiſtration, and poſſeſſed with wild impracticable notions of government, the conſequence, at a time when the nation was engaged in a war, might have been dangerous, if not fatal, to the kingdom. It was farther urged by the new advocates for the ſeptennial act, that as the preſent parliament had obtained the removal of an obnoxious miniſter, the intereſt of the nation required its continuance; and that the allies of Great-Britain would loſe all confidence in her councils, ſhould ſhe begin to innovate in ſo eſſential a point.

The miſcarriage of this ſcheme tended greatly to encreaſe the ill humour of the public. The cry for juſtice againſt the late miniſter was revived and re echoed from all parts of the kingdom; and ſomething in decency muſt be done to ſilence it.

Lord Limeric, who had a ſeat in the lower houſe, and was conſidered as a man of ſound parts, moved for a ſecret committee to examine into the conduct of affairs for the laſt twenty years. This motion had ſo much the air of eſtabliſhing a court of inquiſition, that it muſt have deſtroyed all manner of credit with foreign ſtates. Beſides, from the many deaths, alterations, and removals, that had happened in ſo long a period, the enquiry muſt have been extremely imperfect, and, of conſequence, unſatisfactory. Notwithſtanding theſe and many other abſurdities contained in the motion, it was rejected only by a majority of two voices.

It was now evident, that had the friends of the late miniſter thought proper to reunite, they would have been able to defeat any motion that could have been made againſt him. But the truth is, he himſelf was ſo little apprehenſive of any danger from that quarter, that he uſed all his intereſt to promote an enquiry, provided it could be carried on without prejudice to the public ſervice.

On the twenty-third day of March, lord Limeric made another motion for a committee to enquire into the conduct of the earl of Orford, during the laſt ten years of his be-

being at the head of the adminiſtration. Though this motion was much leſs exceptionable than the former, yet it met with a ſtrong oppoſition. The friends of the late miniſter declared, they were ready to agree to the motion, if any particular charge was brought againſt him, but they were of opinion, that an enquiry, formed upon popular clamour alone, was inconſiſtent with the juſtice and dignity of the houſe.

The motion was, however, carried, and the committee voted. This was to conſiſt of twenty-one perſons, who were to be choſed by ballot, and veſted with power to ſend for perſons, papers, and records; and to examine, in the moſt ſolemn manner, ſuch perſons as they ſhould think proper, for anſwering the purpoſes of their enquiry.

The committee being accordingly elected, proceeded to immediate buſineſs. They choſe lord Limeric for their chairman; they called for the treaſury-books and papers, and began their ſcrutiny with great application. As they were poſſeſſed of the moſt extenſive powers, and enjoyed the fulleſt means of information, it was generally expected, that they would make great diſcoveries. It was long, however, before they could find any food for their zeal. The diſcoveries, which, after a long examination, they had been able to make, were ex-

tremely inconſiderable, when compared to the atrociouſneſs of the charges that had been urged againſt the government; and it was therefore contrived that the failure of the enquiry ſhould be attributed to the arts and obſtinacy of the late miniſter's friends and dependents.

One Paxton, who had ſignalized himſelf, more by his faithful attachment to party, than by any accompliſhments either moral or intellectual, had been, for ten years, ſollicitor of the Treaſury; and, being poſſeſſed of many ſocial virtues, had been employed, by Sir Robert Walpole, in a great number of thoſe private negociations, which are inſeparable from the power of a firſt miniſter, and firſt lord of the Treaſury.

It had never been denied, that a great many ſuch negociations, not fit to be publiſhed, were neceſſarily connected with the chief departments of buſineſs; and money, under the denomination of Secret Service Money, had always been allowed for that purpoſe. The beſt part of this money had gone through Paxton's hands; and the committee now called upon him to give an account of the diſtribution. Frugality was not among Paxton's private virtues; and, though he had always done the miniſter's buſineſs faithfully, it had frequently been at ſuch expence, that his accounts could not well bear a ſtrict exa-

examination. It appeared, in particular, from the Treaſury-books, that, during the laſt ten years of his being ſollicitor, no leſs than ninety-five thouſand pounds had been iſſued to him.

When Paxton appeared before the committee of ſecreſy, he was examined about five hundred pounds, which he had given to one Boteler, in the year 1735, in order to enable him to carry his election at Wendover. Though there could be little doubt of Paxton's having given the money, yet he refuſed to acknowledge it; becauſe, as he very properly obſerved, he might thereby accuſe himſelf. In a word, by his obſtinate perſiſtance in declining to anſwer, he ſtopped the courſe of the examination.

The committee were ſomewhat at a loſs how to get the better of this difficulty. At laſt, lord Limeric, having reported to the houſe the behaviour of Paxton, a motion was made for committing him to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, in order, if poſſible, to overcome his obſtinacy. This motion occaſioned ſome debate. The friends of the late miniſter alledged, that the houſe could not ſubject Paxton to any kind of puniſhment, before they knew whether he was criminal; a circumſtance, that could not be diſcovered, unleſs they were made acquaint-

ed

ed with the nature of the queſtions, which had been put to him.

Theſe objections, it muſt be owned, were altogether frivolous and abſurd: yet they demonſtrated the extreme attachment, which many of the members had to the late miniſter; and this ſpirit was ſo prevalent in the houſe, that the motion was carried by no greater a majority than that of ſixty-one voices. Paxton, having ſurrendered himſelf into cuſtody, continued as obſtinate as before; and a motion was therefore made and carried, for committing him cloſe priſoner to Newgate; for debarring him the uſe of pen, ink and paper; and for allowing no perſon to ſpeak to him without the permiſſion of the houſe.

The public, in general, were far from approving of this ſeverity. Paxton, it is true, was, by far, the moſt unpopular of all the miniſterial agents: but the puniſhment was deemed too great for the offence. The queſtions that had been put to him were ſoon known without doors, and, being in their nature ſo extremely trifling, expoſed the committee to ſome degree of ridicule. The other agents of the late miniſter, encouraged by this prepoſſeſſion of the public in their favour, reſolved to follow the example of Paxton,

Paxton, who was now extolled for his fidelity to his patron.

Among theſe was Gwin Vaughan, who had long been the confident of Sir Robert Walpole, and who was generally accounted a man of ſagacity, penetration, and addreſs. Being ſummoned before the ſecret committee, he was examined with regard to a practice, which had been often charged upon the late miniſter; that of obliging the poſſeſſor of a place or office, to pay ſo much out of the profits of it to ſome perſon or other recommended to him by the miniſter.

Mr. Vaughan made uſe of the ſame apology, which had been employed by Paxton. He ſaid, that he was not ſure but his anſwering ſuch a queſtion might affect himſelf, and, therefore, he begged to be excuſed from making any reply. Though this refuſal was as peremptory as that of Mr. Paxton, and though Vaughan was intruſted with ſecrets of much greater conſequence than the other; yet, as he was a perſon of more importance, the committee were afraid to treat him with the ſame ſeverity: they therefore, very prudently, contented themſelves with telling him, that they would preſs him no farther at preſent.

But of all thoſe, from whom diſcoveries were expected, Mr. Scrope, ſecretary to the Treaſury,

Treaſury, was, by far, the moſt conſiderable, as well on account of the importance of his office, as of his own perſonal merit and abilities. The ſum of one million, fifty-two thouſand, two hundred and eleven pounds had, within the ſpace of ten years, been traced into his and Sir Robert Walpole's hands; and leave being obtained of the houſe, of which Mr. Scrope was a member, he appeared before the committee. But when he came there, the oath of diſcovery ſeemed to him ſo ſtrong, that he declined taking it; not being ſatisfied, in his conſcience, that he could take a general oath, while particular queſtions might be put to him, which he was reſolved not to anſwer. He declared, at the ſame time, that he could anſwer to no queſtion about ſecret ſervice money, without leave from his majeſty. This threw the committee into great perplexity; and upon their preſſing Mr. Scrope to declare, whether or not he would anſwer, he deſired time to conſider of it, and immediately withdrew.

At his next appearance, he acquainted the committee, that he had conſulted the ableſt lawyers and divines, who had rather ſtrengthened than weakened his ſcruples; that he had no intention to obſtruct the proceedings of the committee; but he could not,

not, consistent with his former engagements, and with a safe conscience, resolve to take the oath: that he had laid his case before the king, and was authorized to say, that the disposal of money, issued for secret services, by its very nature, required the utmost secresy, and was to be accounted for to his majesty only; and therefore his majesty would not permit him to disclose any thing on that subject: and, finally, that he hoped he should not, by this conduct, incur the displeasure of the committee; the rather as he was willing, if the oath was confined, to take it without hesitation. The committee thinking it unsafe, after such a declaration, to press him any farther, allowed him to depart from the bar of the assembly.

Finding, however, that they were embarrassed with such a number of difficulties, they resolved to clear the way by a very extraordinary bill, which was introduced into the house of commons. This bill was calculated for indemnifying such persons, as should, upon examination, make discoveries, touching the disposal of public money, the disposition of offices, or any payment or agreement for that purpose, or, in a word, concerning any other matters that related to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford.

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The bill made a rapid progreſs through the lower houſe. The earl of Orford's friends gave it no oppoſition, convinced, as they were, that it would be rejected by the lords. Nor were they diſappointed in their expectations. When it was read a ſecond time by their lordſhips, and a motion made for its being committed, the lord Carteret declared his diſſent.

This nobleman had been long remarkable for his oppoſition to the late miniſter, and had even made the motion, in the upper houſe, for removing him from his majeſty's preſence and councils. Upon this occaſion, however, he ſhewed himſelf to be more a friend to juſtice, than an enemy to Sir Robert Walpole. His arguments againſt the bill were ſtrong and convincing.

He ſaid, that ſuch a bill was not only unprecedented, but inconſiſtent with juſtice, the laws of nature, and the fundamental maxims of the conſtitution: that juſtice, indeed, required that public offenders ſhould be puniſhed; but it likewiſe required, that the innocent ſhould be protected and guarded, not only againſt the danger of being unjuſtly condemned, but alſo againſt the danger of being falſely accuſed: that he ſhould not ſay, that the noble peer, whoſe conduct was now under the con-

conſideration of the other houſe, was either guilty or innocent; but charity required a preſumption in favour of his innocence; and therefore, till he was accuſed of ſome particular crime, and their lordſhips had ſome ſort of proof of that crime, he could not think it juſt to invite all the rogues in the nation to accuſe him, by giving them an indemnity for the crimes of which they had been guilty, provided they could, by their evidence, bring him in as an accomplice of their guilt: that when an atrocious crime had been committed, when the crime was certainly and publickly known, but the authors of it unknown, a pardon or an indemnity might be, and had often been, promiſed to any of the guilty, who would come and diſcover his accomplices; but it was contrary to the laws of nature, and to all laws human and divine, to ſet an innocent man, or, at leaſt, one, againſt whom there was no proof or preſumption of a crime; it was contrary, he ſaid, to all laws human and divine, to ſet ſuch a one up as the public butt for all the informers in the kingdom: that againſt ſuch a method as this, no innocence could be a protection; for informers would naturally expect a reward, if they could fix any crime upon a man, thus ſet up as the object of public reſent-

ſentment; nay, that by this means, a few of them would probably be induced to enter into a conſpiracy for charging him with ſome heinous crime, and that conſpiracy might be ſo cunningly formed, as to render it impoſſible for him to prove his innocence, or to avoid condemnation. After this and ſome other ſpeeches, the bill was rejected by a majority of fifty-two voices.

The rejection of this bill, notwithſtanding the late clamour againſt the earl of Orford, was conſidered as no more than an act of juſtice. The ſecret committee, with all their induſtry, had been able to make very few diſcoveries, and theſe too of a very trifling and inſignificant nature.

Large ſums of money, indeed, had been given by the miniſter to thoſe who wrote in defence of his adminiſtration; but as it was well known that no adminiſtration was ever more weakly or wretchedly defended, this circumſtance was treated with ridicule rather than deteſtation. Neither his friends nor his enemies were ignorant, that eaſineſs of temper was his chief failing; and to this propenſity his unſeaſonable liberality, in this as well as in other reſpects, was univerſally attributed.

As to the great charge of corruption at elections, all the pains, that had been employed,

ployed, could bring out very little againſt him; and even that was ſo ill ſupported, that it could by no means amount to a direct charge. Some doubtful facts, with regard to a contract for paying the troops in America, were urged, and the names of Burrel, Briſtow, and ſome other members of parliament, were brought in queſtion; but nothing could be fixed either upon theſe gentlemen or upon the miniſter himſelf, that was ſo much as reprehenſible.

What bore the moſt unfavourable aſpect were ſome dealings about the corporation of Weymouth; but theſe, when candidly conſidered, are very immaterial, amounting to no more, than that ſome officers of the revenue in Weymouth had been turned out, in order to ſerve two friends of the miniſter at the general election. So petty an abuſe of power had never been remarked or cenſured under any former adminiſtration; and though now ſwelled, in the report of the ſecret committee, into an almoſt capital charge, yet when it came to be made public, it was totally diſregarded. The other particulars of this famous report are too immaterial to be here ſpecified.

Mean while the members of the committee, who were privy to the ſecret coalition between the old and new miniſtry, were far

from being eaſy. The nation had ſeen no proofs, or at beſt, but very unſatisfactory proofs of the miniſter's guilt; and they therefore imagined, either that the charge againſt him had been greatly exaggerated, or that the evidences of it were induſtriouſly ſtifled by thoſe, who had been moſt active in promoting the enquiry.

The new miniſters alledged, that this diſappointment was owing to the obſtinacy of Paxton and others in not anſwering the queſtions that had been put to them, and to the miſcarriage of the indemnification bill; and they pretended, that ſomething very atrocious would come out, when the committee had examined, as they were preparing to examine, the papers relating to the convention. In the mean time, the rejection of the indemnification bill gave ſo much offence to thoſe, who ſtill remained in the anti-miniſterial party, that they reſolved to make a deciſive motion, which would put the intention of the new miniſters beyond all diſpute. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth day of May, it was moved in the lower houſe, that a committee ſhould be appointed to ſearch the journals of the houſe of lords for precedents in relation to the foreſaid bill.

As

As the houſe, in general, did not comprehend the full ſcope of this motion, it was carried by a majority of five voices; and a committee was appointed, and ordered to make a report. The report being made by lord Hilſborough, a motion enſued, that the lords refuſing to concur with the commons of Great Britain, in an indemnification neceſſary to the effectual carrying on the enquiry, now depending in parliament, was an obſtruction to juſtice, and might prove fatal to the liberties of the nation.

Had this motion ſucceeded, eſpecially at a time when the minds of the people were in ſuch a ferment, it is hard to ſay, what might have been the conſequence. The new miniſters, however, were ſomewhat at a loſs how to oppoſe it with any appearance of decency; the rather as they had always declared that ſuch an indemnification was abſolutely neceſſary. The motion was productive of a long and a violent debate. The country-party ſupported it with great zeal and vehemence: the new miniſters oppoſed it with no leſs eagerneſs; and, being happily joined by a great number of Tories, they were, at laſt, enabled to obtain the victory.

Another motion was made in the courſe of this ſeſſion, which greatly engaged the

attention of the public. This was for leave to bring in a bill for taking, examining, and ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom. The motion was carried, and the bill prepared, importing, among other things, that the number of commiſſioners for carrying the bill into execution, ſhould be ſeven: that no perſon ſhould be a commiſſioner, who had any office of profit, or was accountable to his majeſty: that the commiſſioners ſhould be members of that houſe; and that they ſhould be choſe by ballot.

The friends of the earl of Orford, alarmed at the nature of this bill, employed all their intereſt, in conjunction with the new miniſtry, to procure on their ſide, a majority of the commiſſioners; and having, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the oppoſite party, ſucceeded in their endeavours, the patrons of the bill became ſo indifferent about it, that it was dropped for the preſent. The public buſineſs being now finiſhed, and the ſupplies granted, amounting to upwards of five millions and a half, the parliament was prorogued on the fifteenth day of July, when the king, in his ſpeech, acquainted both houſes, that he was determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours in ſupporting the cauſe of her Hungarian majeſty.

In

In order to ſhew the ſincerity of his profeſſions, a reſolution was immediately taken in council, to ſend a body of Britiſh troops to the continent of Europe. This body was to be commanded by the earl of Stair, and was to conſiſt of ſixteen thouſand three hundred and thirty-four men; who, immediately, upon their arrival upon the continent, were to be joined by an equal number of Hanoverians, and by the ſix thouſand Heſſians that were in Britiſh pay.

The Engliſh, in general, were ſo much prepoſſeſſed in favour of her Hungarian majeſty, that the reſolution of ſending an army to her aſſiſtance, was highly extolled by all ranks of people. Some, however, ſeemed to be of opinion, that, conſidering the averſion, which the Dutch had diſcovered to concur in the common cauſe, ſuch a meaſure was rather premature.

In anſwer to this it was alledged, that the Dutch, encouraged by the vigour of the Engliſh councils, would certainly reſolve to fulfil their engagements. It is probable, indeed, that the Britiſh miniſtry expected their joint aſſiſtance in ſupport of the queen of Hungary; and ſome diſpoſitions had been actually made for his majeſty's going over in Autumn to review the confederate army. But the earl of Stair, who had been ſent to the Hague,

Hague, could not, with all his addreſs, which was allowed to be great, prevail on the Dutch to come to a reſolution of taking the field, in conjunction with the Engliſh. Upon his return, in order to aſſume the command of the army, the lord Carteret, principal ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to Holland with freſh inſtructions.

He arrived at the Hague, at a very critical conjuncture. The French had declared that they intended to ſend thirty thouſand men into the Auſtrian Netherlands, but without the leaſt deſign of attempting any thing to the prejudice of their High Mightineſſes. Notwithſtanding this pacific declaration, the Dutch were filled with ſuch a terrible pannic, that they reſolved immediately to augment their forces, both by ſea and land. The Engliſh imagined, that this incident would determine the Dutch to renounce their neutrality, and to declare in favour of her Hungarian majeſty. In this expectation, however, they were greatly diſappointed. The French intereſt was ſo prevalent in their councils, that they would not even be perſuaded to promiſe, that they would co-operate with the Britiſh troops, upon their arrival in Flanders.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Holland, when the lord Carteret arrived at the Hague, with

with the following propoſitions, which he immediately laid before their High Mightineſſes. The firſt was, that the republic ſhould join with England and her allies, in declaring war againſt France: the ſecond, that they ſhould garriſon the ſtrong places belonging to the queen of Hungary; that ſo ſhe might be at liberty to employ her troops in the field: the third, that Great-Britain ſhould take into her pay, thirty thouſand of the republic's troops, who were to be lent to the queen of Hungary: and the fourth contained an offer of a new treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and Holland.

According to the account of the Dutch penſionary, their High Mightineſſes civilly declined all theſe propoſitions. They profeſſed an abhorrence of encreaſing the effuſion of human blood, by becoming parties in the war. They ſaid, that their troops were deſtined for their own defence, and were never intended to be let out for hire. They declared, indeed, their extreme readineſs to enter into a new treaty of commerce with Britain; but owned, at the ſame time, that, however deſirable that agreement, they ſhould be loth to purchaſe it at the expence of engaging themſelves in a ruinous war. This indeciſion of the Dutch, rendered all the

the princes of Europe extremely cautious in their conduct. By the great ſucceſs of Khevenhuller, and the Auſtrian generals, and by the large ſupplies of money, that were conſtantly remitted from England to Vienna, a ſurprizing change had been effected in the face of affairs in Germany, greatly to the advantage of her Hungarian majeſty.

Khevenhuller had defeated mareſchal Thoring at Memberg, and had opened to himſelf a road into the heart of Bavaria; where Mentzel, with his detachment, took Munich, the capital of that electorate.

The queen of Hungary was no ſooner informed of this event, than ſhe wrote a moſt affecting letter to Khevenhuller, and preſented him with the pictures of herſelf and her ſon. The letter was read, and the pictures ſhewn to the officers and ſoldiers, who, tranſported with an enthuſiaſm of zeal for their beloved ſovereign, ſwore they would live and die in her ſervice.

About the ſame time, baron Berenclau entered Bavaria by another quarter, with an army drawn from woods and wilds in the moſt remote territories of Auſtria. Their appearance was dreadful, if not hideous; and their living at free quarters rendered them ſtill more terrible to the inhabitants. They were, however, a very uſeful and in-

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defatigable body of troops: they drove count Thoring, with his Bavarians, under the cannon of Ingoldſtadt; and performed many other ſervices of importance to their miſtreſs.

To counterballance, however, in ſome meaſure, theſe great advantages, mareſchal Broglio ſent a body of French and Bavarians under prince Maurice of Saxony, who took, by capitulation, the town of Egra; while the citadel of Glatz, for want of proviſions, was obliged to ſurrender to his Pruſſian majeſty.

Still, however, the iſſue of the campaign, was in favour of the Auſtrians, who, by means of the great number of recruits, which they daily received, were enabled to form a more regular plan of operations. Prince Lobkowitz at the head of eleven thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe was appointed to watch the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and eighteen thouſand cavalry, advanced againſt the Pruſſians and Saxons, who retired with great precipitation out of Moravia, and abandoned Olmutz.

This retreat was extremely advantageous to the Auſtrians, and gave them an opportunity of uniting their whole force againſt the French under Broglio, who was too ſtrong for prince Lobkowitz ſingly. But the indefati-

defatigable king of Pruſſia, having received a reinforcement of thirty-two thouſand men, returned to Bohemia, with a view of preventing the junction of the Auſtrians.

By the force of generalſhip the king effected his deſign, and, at laſt, his army and that of prince Charles come to a pitched battle at Chazlau, about thirty-five miles to the ſouthward of Prague. The regular troops on both ſides were nearly equal in number; but the Auſtrians had the advantage of having a vaſt number of irregulars, who did them great ſervice in the action. The battle continued four hours with the moſt invincible obſtinacy. The Auſtrians fought bravely; the Pruſſians deſperately. The former fought for their ſovereign; the latter, for their ſafety. The courage of the Auſtrians, however, muſt have overpowered the intrepidity of the Pruſſians; had not the rage of plunder ſeized the irregulars, who had actually forced themſelves into the Pruſſian camp. Their example was followed by the regulars of the right wing, who had followed them into the intrenchments; and the main body of the Auſtrians being, by this means, expoſed, his Pruſſian majeſty ſeized the critical moment, and renewing the attack with redoubled fury, obliged prince Charles to retire

retire with the loss of three thousand men, though his own loss was not much inferior.

It is certain, however, that nothing but the importunities of the emperor, who began to grow jealous of the Saxons, the unsteady and even faithless conduct of the French, and the invincible haughtiness of the court of Vienna, could have induced his Prussian majesty to return to Bohemia. But he saw, that if the Austrians should destroy the French; an event, which was, by no means, improbable; he himself must be left to the mercy of the court of Vienna, from which he had every thing to fear. In order, therefore, to secure himself against this danger, he was obliged to save the French, though he was, by no means, satisfied with their conduct. And, indeed, that his dissatisfaction was founded upon too just grounds, appeared by an accident, that happened soon after the battle.

He had sent a courier to Broglio, desiring, he would endeavour to gain a march upon prince Lobkowitz, and join the Prussians with the troops he commanded. As Broglio's army was double the number of that of prince Lobkowitz, nothing could be easier than such a project; yet the mareschal thought proper to decline it, on pretence that it exceeded the orders he had received.

The king, at first, was somewhat at a loss to account for an excuse so extremely ridiculous; but his doubts were soon removed by an Austrian officer, who was brought in, wounded, from the field of battle. Having had the humanity to visit the officer, the latter told him, that he could not die in peace without testifying his gratitude, by discovering the perfidy of his French allies, on whom he so much depended.

The king seeming either to slight or suspect this intimation, the Austrian obtained leave to send a courier to Vienna, who returned with an intercepted letter from the French court to mareschal Broglio. In this letter, the mareschal was ordered to keep his troops always at a distance from those of Prussia; to observe the motions both of the king and his army; never to expose his forces to any risk or danger; and, if pressed by his Prussian majesty to come to an action, to plead, in excuse, the absence of Belleisle, or the want of sufficient powers.

Though it was prudent in the queen of Hungary to furnish his Prussian majesty with this proof of French perfidy; yet it was pretty certain, that she herself, at this very time, entertained a secret agent from the French court, and it was publickly said, that she had one of her own at Paris.

Some-

Something of the latter kind ſeems to have been ſuſpected at the Hague: for, when Van Hoey flatly demanded of cardinal Fleury what truth there was in that report, though his eminency ſeemed to deny it, yet he added, that, certainly the queen of Hungary would not take an ineffectual ſtep, in caſe ſhe applied to the French court; ſince nothing was ſo much wiſhed for at Paris, as the ſpeedy accompliſhment of an equitable peace.

Whatever be in this, certain it is, that, ſince the battle of Chazlau, his Pruſſian majeſty had determined to make a ſeparate peace with the queen of Hungary, under the mediation of Great-Britain. He made ſo little ſecret of this, that, in a letter, which he wrote to the mareſchal Belleiſle, who ſent it to Verſailles, he covertly upbraided the French with their perfidious conduct. Nay, when Broglio paid him a viſit in his camp, with a view of diſcovering his ſentiments, he frankly declared his intentions to that nobleman.

Nor did he fail to adhere to his reſolution: the peace was ſoon after concluded; and that happy event was, in a great meaſure, owing to the wiſe conduct and prudent management of his Britannic majeſty, who was perpetually inculcating the neceſſity of uniting their forces for the delivery of

their country; and assuring them, that the French, by keeping them at variance, were only consulting their own ambitious views. All true Germans, though they durst not avow it, were of the same opinion; and not only the elector of Saxony, but the emperor, began to give manifest signs of their great dissatisfaction with the conduct of their French allies.

The earl of Hyndford, the British minister, was vested with full powers by the queen of Hungary, to give, in her name, the finishing hand to the preliminaries of the treaty; as was likewise count Podiwelts on the part of his Prussian majesty: and the peace was signed at Breslau on the eleventh day of June by both ministers.

By this treaty the queen of Hungary ceded to his Prussian majesty the Low and the High Silesia, with the city and castle of Glatz and the county of that name; and, in return, the king of Prussia renounced all pretensions whatsoever on her Hungarian majesty. The king was so well pleased with the conclusion of this treaty, that he is said to have declared, he would willingly part with one of his hands, could he be sure that it would never be broken.

In consequence of the eleventh article, by which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony,

Saxony, was invited to accede to the treaty of Breſlau, he immediately ordered his troops, who were advancing into Bohemia, to halt till further orders; and a negociation being ſet on foot, a peace was concluded between him and the queen of Hungary, who yielded to his Poliſh majeſty ſome places in the circles of Elnbogen, Satzer, Leitmaritz, and Buntzlaw in Bohemia, in conſideration of which he guarantied to her the reſt of that kingdom. The execution of the preliminaries was guarantied by a defenſive treaty of alliance concluded at Weſtminſter on the eighteenth day of November, between the king of Great-Britain and his Pruſſian majeſty.

The news of the treaty of Breſlau came like a thunderbolt upon the French court, whoſe armies, under Broglio and Belleiſle, had juſt after the battle of Chazlau, gained ſome inconſiderable advantages over the Auſtrians. So great, however was their pannic, upon the receipt of this intelligence, that they retired towards Prague with the utmoſt precipitation. The Auſtrians purſued them with incredible celerity: they even obliged them to abandon their baggage and their military cheſt: and the very peaſants deſtroyed their ſtragglers with clubs and pitchforks wherever they could find them.

It muſt be owned, however, that, in this preſſing emergency, Broglio behaved with equal courage and conduct; and that, had it not been for a judicious ſtand, which he made, the whole French army muſt have been irretrievably ruined. Nevertheleſs, he was altogether unable to cure his men of the pannic, which had ſeized them, and which had now encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that one part of them haſtily entering Prague, ſhut the gates againſt their companions.

Mean while, prince Charles had made himſelf maſter of Teyn, Frauenberg, Pilſeck, and ſeveral other places garriſoned by French forces; and having, at length, compleated his junction with prince Lobkowitz, and thereby augmented his army to the number of ſixty thouſand men, he reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Prague in form.

Belleiſle had lately made a tour to Dreſden, with a view of diſſuading her Poliſh majeſty from abandoning the confederacy; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he returned to Prague, and reſolved to take the beſt meaſures for ſecuring that important city. He intrenched his army, amounting to twenty-ſix thouſand men, in a kind of peninſular meadow, formed by the winding of the river Maldau; the banks of which de-

defended them on all ſides, except at one narrow paſs, which was commanded by the cannon of the city. No ſooner did the Auſtrians appear in view, than Belleiſle ſent a trumpet, demanding a conference with the mareſchal count Konigſegg; a requeſt, which was immediately granted.

The two generals having met, Belleiſle, who, ever ſince the treaty of Breſlau, had foreſeen all that had happened, and had procured credentials accordingly, offered, immediately, in virtue of his plenipotentiary powers, to open conferences for a general accommodation. Konigſegg replied, that he could not agree to the propoſal, as his miſtreſs was determined to take no ſtep of that kind, without the participation of her allies.

Belleiſle perceived, that this inſinuation could only relate to his Britannic majeſty; and, in confidence, declared to Konigſegg, that he was willing, in the name of their Imperial and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, to treat about the ſecularization of the biſhoprics of Oſnaburg and Hilderſheim, and the annexation of theſe territories, in perpetuity, to the houſe of Hanover. Even this bait, tempting as it was, did not ſucceed: the conferences were therefore broke off, and Belleiſle returned to his camp.

It

It was somewhat new, and almost unprecedented, to see an army of twenty-six thousand of the best troops in Europe besieged. The French general acquitted himself with great spirit and resolution. He knew he had nothing but famine to fear. The Austrians, he was sensible, were, in a great measure, ignorant of the art of attack and defence; but they were formidable, by their numbers, by their knowledge of the country, by their valour in the field, and by their being acquainted with the language, and possessed of the good will of the inhabitants. Another conference was held between the two generals, when Belleisle presented to Konigsegg, a letter addressed to him from cardinal Fleury. In this letter, the cardinal endeavoured to clear himself from the imputation of being deemed the author of the war, the whole blame of which he threw upon mareschal Belleisle, "Many "people know," said he, "that I always "opposed the resolutions we have taken; "and that I was, in a manner, forced to "yield to the pressing instances that were "made by others. Your excellency is too "well informed of all that has past, not to "guess easily who it was that set the whole "machine at work, and determined his majesty to enter into a league so contrary to

"my

" my principles and inclinations." From the remaining part of the letter, it appears, that, about ſix months before, Waſner, the Auſtrian miniſter at London, had received propoſitions of peace from the cardinal; and that Konigſegg himſelf was not, in his own private opinion, averſe to the offers that had been made him by Belleiſle. Not only the contents, but the manner of delivering this letter, which was preſented by the hands of the very perſon it accuſed, were ſtrong proofs of the great decay of the writer's intellectual faculties. Theſe, indeed, ſeem to have been ſo much impaired, that he ſometimes fell into the moſt egregious blunders. On the very day, that preceded the writing of the above letter, he had ſent another to ſeveral French miniſters at foreign courts, containing the following expreſſions: " I am " very much obliged to you, Sir, for being " ſo good as to inform me, that evil minded " perſons ſpread, more than ever, even in " Paris, the report of our having ſent, pri- " vately, a miniſter to the court of Vienna, " in order to negociate an accommodation, " before the king of Pruſſia thought of con- " cluding one. All the world knows, in- " deed, that I love peace; and this I never " concealed: but it is falſe that I ever made " any propoſitions for one, directly or in-

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" directly.——If, after this, any body can " doubt it, the court of Vienna may eaſily " give me the lye."

As this letter was written and publiſhed in the French king's name, the court of Vienna took the cardinal at his word; and, in order to give him the lye directly, exhibited to the public his letter to count Konigſegg. The cardinal was a good deal nettled at this unlucky incident; and, in another letter, upbraided the count with breach of truſt, and with having betrayed a private correſpondence.

In the ſecond interview between the two generals, Belleiſle offered to evacuate Bohemia, provided his troops might have leave to retire with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The court of Vienna were ſo much elated by their late ſucceſſes, that they had even the hardineſs to reject this propoſal; and would liſten to no terms but thoſe of the French ſurrendering priſoners of war.

The French, though involved in great difficulties, were not yet ſo far diſpirited, as to accept of ſuch diſhonourable terms; and they therefore rejected the conditions with the utmoſt indignation. The conferences were immediately broke off: the place was inveſted on all ſides: the trenches were opened on the twenty-eighth day of July; and Feſtititz, an Auſtrian general, was ordered, at the head of

of ten thouſand Hungarians, chiefly cavalry, to approach nearer to Old Prague, and to ſtraiten the beſieged on that quarter; an order, which he executed with great reſolution.

Belleiſle, who now commanded in Prague, looked upon all theſe diſpoſitions with the utmoſt unconcern: and ſent repeated advices to his court, with which he kept a daily correſpondence, that he feared nothing from any enemy but famine; and that, if that enemy ſhould prove intolerable, and the Auſtrians continue to preſs the ſiege, he ſhould ſtill be able to make good a retreat.

His conduct ſoon ſhewed, that he was abundantly capable of performing what he had promiſed. He ordered the count de Gramont to attack the Hungarians under Feſtititz; and this officer, though only at the head of a ſmall body of troops, obtained ſeveral advantages over the Hungarians, and brought off ſome trophies of victory. Notwithſtanding theſe repulſes, the Auſtrians began to draw lines of circumvallation, and other works around the city; but theſe were executed in ſo clumſy and bungling a manner, as excited the ridicule and deriſion of the French.

It would be foreign to our purpoſe, to relate, particularly, every remarkable incident of this long and important ſiege. Suffice it

to

to say, that the French behaved with great spirit and intrepidity, and made so many desperate sallies, some of them equal to pitched battles, that they never suffered the besiegers, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to make any regular approaches.

While the Austrians and Hungarians were thus pushing the siege of Prague, with so little skill, and so little probability of success, England was kept in the utmost anxiety and suspence, with regard to the event of this important undertaking. The partizans of her Hungarian majesty, possessed, as they were, with the highest opinion of her generals, believed that they would never have refused to accept the offers proposed by the French, had not they been sure of obliging them to surrender at discretion.

What contributed to encrease the delusion, was the vanity or policy of the Austrians themselves, who daily published the most pompous accounts of the successes they had gained, and the distress to which the enemy was reduced: and this false intelligence they continued with such confidence and assurance, as actually imposed upon some of the most distinguished personages in the kingdom. The deceit, however, had some good effects. It put the nation in a good humour, and it raised considerably the public credit,

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a circumſtance of no ſmall conſequence at that important juncture.

The French, after a long and moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, were, at laſt, attacked by that enemy, whom they ſo much dreaded. Famine now began to ſtare them in the face: their proviſions were almoſt entirely exhauſted; and, without ſome ſignal and immediate relief, they could not ſubſiſt above a few weeks. Neither the honour nor the intereſt of France could ſuffer her to ſacrifice ſo fine an army, without making one effort to ſave it. Fleury, by his late unaccountable conduct, was beginning to forfeit the eſteem of his maſter. Averſe ſtill to hoſtile meaſures, and eager for the re-eſtabliſhment of his pacific ſyſtem, he had all along endeavoured to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. With this view, he now thought proper to conceal the diſtreſſes of the French army in Prague; hoping that, thereby, they would, finally, be obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and that France would, by that means, be laid under a neceſſity of concluding a peace upon any terms.

A matter, however, of ſo great importance could not long be kept a ſecret from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. That prince, having found means to ſee a letter written to one of his favourite miſtreſſes, by the mareſ-

chal Broglio, containing an account of the unhappy situation to which the French army in Prague was reduced, determined immediately to send them some assistance. A council, accordingly, was instantly summoned; and a resolution taken, in spite of Fleury and his party, to make an attempt for the relief of Prague. This service was proposed to be performed by a method suggested by the marquis de Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, who advised, that orders should be sent to the mareschal de Maillebois, who was still in Westphalia at the head of forty thousand men, to march to Bohemia with the utmost expedition.

The expedient, however, was thought to be dangerous, if not absolutely impracticable. The besieged stood in need of immediate relief; and Maillebois must march above six hundred miles, and mostly too through an enemy's country, before he could reach them. The interior parts of France were altogether unprovided of troops, no less than one hundred and fifty thousand having been sent into the empire; and an army of about forty thousand men, belonging to his Britannic majesty, was then hovering on the frontiers of the kingdom.

These considerations were urged, by the cardinal and his party, as strong arguments against

againſt the meaſure projected; but the marquis de Fenelon having undertaken for the continuance of Holland's neutrality; and it not being judged probable, that, without the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, the Engliſh would make any attempt on the French dominions, a reſolution was taken to ſend orders to Maillebois to begin his march without loſs of time.

The ſcheme was communicated to his Imperial majeſty, without whoſe conſent it could not be executed. The emperor at firſt ſtarted ſome objections. He ſaid, that his own dominions ought to be delivered from the enemy, before any other project could be reaſonably attempted; and in this opinion he was ſeconded by Maillebois himſelf, who was extremely averſe to ſet out on a march, attended manifeſtly with ſo much difficulty and danger.

The emperor's advice was, no doubt, the beſt; and might be productive of far greater advantages, even to France, than could be derived from the relief of Prague. But it happened, that, by this time, his Imperial majeſty had incurred the ſuſpicion, and even the contempt, of the French court; and Maillebois, accordingly, began his march from Weſtphalia to Bohemia, about the middle of Auguſt, under

the ſanction of a reſcript, which the emperor ſent to the diet of the empire.

In this reſcript, his Imperial majeſty took notice of the repeated offers, which he and France had made for evacuating Bohemia, provided Bavaria ſhould be evacuated likewiſe; and he juſtified the march of the mareſchal de Maillebois upon the principles of neceſſity, ariſing, he ſaid, from the unconquerable obſtinacy of the court of Vienna.

The duke de Harcourt was then at the head of the Frevch troops in Bavaria: Seckendorf commanded the Imperialiſts; and Khevehuller the Auſtrians: but the deciſion of the fate of Prague, which was hourly expected, kept all parties in a ſtate of inaction.

The count de Saxe, who had now entered into the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and gave daily proofs of his uncommon vigour, activity, and reſolution, was appointed to ſucceed the duke de Harcourt in the command of the French army. The firſt exploit of this new general was to give the ſlip to Khevenhuller, and to join his forces to thoſe under Maillebois; a ſcheme, which, by a ſurprizing exertion of intrepidity and addreſs, he at laſt accompliſhed: and the united armies of France, which had now advanced to Amberg in the upper Palatinate,

tinate, were ſoon after joined by the Imperialiſts under Seckendorff, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of Kevenhuller to prevent them.

Prince Charles, who ſtill continued before Prague, was no ſooner informed of the approach of Maillebois, than converting the ſiege into a looſe blockade, and committing the care of it to prince Lobkowitz and general Feſtititz, with a body of eighteen thouſand men, he ſet out to oppoſe the French mareſchals; and near Hayd was joined by Kevenhuller, who had now give over the purſuit of the enemy.

Mean while, the Auſtrians reduced the town of Frauenburgh; and Trenck, the famous Partizan, made himſelf maſter, by a deſperate attack, of Chamb in Bavaria, which, on account of its ſituation, was the general repoſitory of the moſt valuable effects and treaſure of the inhabitants.

Upon the departure of prince Charles from Prague, Belleiſle and Broglio reſolved to execute the ſame deſign, which had been accompliſhed by Saxe and Seckendorff, that of joining the mareſchal de Maillebois, who, by the acceſſion of the troops from Bavaria, was now at the head of ſeventy thouſand men. This project, had it ſucceeded, would

have entirely altered the face of the war in Germany.

The Auſtrians finding themſelves too weak to continue the blockade of Prague, had thought proper to abandon the enterprize. The two French mareſchals, being thus freed from all reſiſtance, marched out of the city, and advanced to Leutmaritz, in order to join their main army, which had now arrived in the neighbourhood of Egra.

Prince Charles, being apprized of the deſign of the two mareſchals, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent its execution. With this view he made himſelf maſter of the paſſes into the circle of Satz, through which, he knew, they muſt neceſſarily paſs before they could accompliſh their intended junction.

This precaution had the deſired effect: the paſſes could not be forced by a greater, and hardly indeed by any, army: and thus the three French mareſchals, after having been almoſt in view of each other's camp, were obliged to abandon their favourite project. Maillebois was forced to return to Egra, which was ſtill in the hands of the French; Belleiſle and Broglio marched back to Prague: the former was followed by prince Charles with the main army of the Auſtrians; the latter two by prince Lobkowitz

witz with a detachment ſufficient to renew the blockade of that city.

It is generally allowed, that, in this expedition, Maillebois acquitted himſelf, as an able, though not as an enterprizing general. It ought, likewiſe, to be obſerved, in his favour, that cardinal Fleury had ſtill ſo much influence as to prevail upon the French court to ſend him orders to act upon the defenſive, and to hazard no battle, in which he had not a manifeſt advantage.

To this injunction the mareſchal paid a moſt implicit obedience. He avoided, with great dexterity, a battle, when it ſeemed ſeveral times inevitable; and, through ſeemingly unſurmountable obſtacles, arrived at laſt on the confines of Bavaria, where he reſtored the emperor to the poſſeſſion of his capital; but he was ſoon obliged to reſign his command to Broglio, who eſcaped out of Prague to Bavaria in the diſguiſe of a courier.

The affairs of the emperor ſeemed now to be in a more promiſing condition; but thoſe of France were far from being mended. Belleiſle was once more ſhut up in Prague by prince Lobkowitz, who was almoſt the only general that ſtill kept the field, the other commanders having, ſome time

time before distributed their troops into winter quarters.

Belleisle, though he still continued to laugh at the efforts of the Austrians, was, by this time, reduced to a very disagreeable situation. His men were attacked not only by famine but by sickness: their numbers from twenty-six were now diminished to seventeen thousand; and these were destitute, as well of all hopes of future relief, as of all means of present subsistance.

In these circumstances he resolved to perform the promise he had made of effectuating a retreat from Prague. To accomplish his purpose, however, with the greater ease, he thought it still necessary to keep up the show of resistance; and this conduct had so good an effect, that scarce a day passed without some skirmishes, in which the French had generally the better. As the Austrian magazines, which lay at some distance from Prague, were the chief objects of dispute upon these occasions, Prince Lobkowitz ordered them to be guarded by the flower of his army, in hopes that famine would soon compel the enemy to surrender.

Belleisle had formed his design of escaping with incredible secrecy; and the better to conceal his purpose, having remounted his

his cavalry and repaired his carriages, he ſent them almoſt every day to forage. At laſt every thing being entirely got ready, he reſolved to carry his ſcheme into immediate execution.

Accordingly, on the ſixteenth of December having kept the gates of the city ſhut during the whole day, he next morning made on one quarter of the town, a feint of a general forage. The attention of the Auſtrians being entirely attracted towards that ſide, Belleiſle ſeized the critical moment; and marching out of the oppoſite quarter, gained a day's march upon prince Lobkowitz, before the other was apprized of his departure.

This project he was enabled to execute with the greater facility on account of the prodigious extent of the walls; and in order the more effectually to amuſe the enemy, he left a garriſon under Monſieur Chevert in the city. According to his own account, he marched out at the head of eleven thouſand foot, three thouſand two hundred and fifty horſe, between five and ſix thouſand ſumpter and waggon horſes, furniſhed with bread for twelve days, thirty pieces of cannon, powder, ball, and all other implements: and, to render his exploit ſtill more maſterly, he had perſuaded his

his officers to part with a great deal of their heavy baggage, in hopes of their being relieved by count Saxe.

He had thirty miles of plain country to croſs before he came to the defiles; the ground was covered with ſnow, the ſeaſon exceſſively ſevere, all the country round hoſtile, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twenty thouſand freſh troops, in his rear.

Amidſt all theſe diſcouragements he arrived at the defiles before he was overtaken; nor even then was he ſo much embarraſſed as might have been expected. He had planned his march with ſo much ſagacity, that though the Auſtrian horſe had occupied the paſſes upon the two principal roads towards Egra, yet availing himſelf of the hardneſs of the ground, occaſioned by the froſt, he ſtruck through moraſſes that never perhaps had been trodden before; and in this exploit he merited the greater honour, as, notwithſtanding his being confined, during the whole march, to his coach or ſedan by a violent rheumatiſm, he always continued himſelf to point out the way.

Nevertheleſs, the Auſtrian huſſars were continually haraſſing his front and rear, and many of his men dropt down dead through the fatigue of the march and the ſe-

ſeverity of the weather; but, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, he arrived in twelve days at Egra, having carried with him thirty pieces of cannon, and not having loſt, according to his own account, ſo much as a ſingle ſoldier, except through the inclemency of the ſeaſon, which killed about a thouſand.

Having thus given an account of the campaign in Germany, the event of which was ſo very intereſting to England, it now is time to attend the progreſs of the war in Italy and the ſouthern parts of Europe, where the naval force of Great-Britain had a conſiderable influence.

One of the greateſt misfortunes of the late miniſtry had been, that, though a great many ſhips were often in commiſſion, it was yet found impoſſible to man them with ſuch expedition as to anſwer the impatience of the public.

To this inconvenience, and to the croſſneſs of the winds and tides, it was entirely owing, that, in the courſe of the laſt year, Sir John Norris loſt ſeveral opportunities of intercepting the Spaniſh galleons in their paſſage from America. Some of his captains, indeed, performed exploits, which amazed the enemy, and reflected equal glory on themſelves and their country, Captain Har-

Harriſon, in the Argyle, took four prizes at Rendonnello near Vigo. The captains Barnet and Balchen, miſtaking, or pretending to miſtake, ſome French men of war for Spaniſh galleons, attacked them with incredible fury; but the miſtake being diſcovered, they parted good friends, though not till the French had ſuſtained conſiderable damage.

We have already obſerved, that, upon the death of the emperor Charles the ſixth, the court of Spain laid claim to all the Auſtrian dominions in Italy. To ſupport this claim, no ſooner was the treaty for the neutrality of Hanover known, than two hundred tranſports, having on board a body of fifteen thouſand land forces, ſailed from Barcelona, while Navarro, the Spaniſh admiral, departed from Cadiz with thirteen ſhips of the line and four frigates; and, in a ſhort time, the whole fleet, favoured by a dark night, paſſed the Streights.

Admiral Haddock, who was then repairing his fleet at Gibraltar, was ſuperior to the enemy, both in ſtrength and number of ſhips; and the Spaniards being driven back by a contrary wind, he immediately bore down upon them in a line of battle. But, juſt as they were going to engage, the French Toulon ſquadron, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, ſtood in between them, with a flag

of

of truce, and ſent a meſſage to the Engliſh admiral, importing, that, as the Spaniſh and French fleets were engaged in the ſame expedition, the French admiral muſt obey his orders, and could not avoid taking the Spaniſh ſhips under his protection.

Haddock was enraged at ſuch an inſolent and imperious meſſage; but finding himſelf unable to cope with the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, he was obliged, by the advice of a council of war, to return to Gibraltar, from whence he proceeded to Port-Mahon, and there he was ſoon after joined by a reinforcement of nine ſhips of the line from England.

By this time, however, what by the fatigues of the ſervice, what by anxiety of mind, owing to the numerous diſappointments he had met with, his conſtitution was ſo much impaired, that he was obliged to reſign the command of the fleet to Leſtock. In the mean time, the tranſports from Barcelona, after encountering a violent ſtorm, landed their troops at Orbitello in Italy, while the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons put into the harbour of Toulon.

The queen of Hungary ſaw the impending ſtorm, and had no other reſource, in the dangers that threatened her, than the counſel and aſſiſtance of the Britiſh mi-

niſtry. By them ſhe was adviſed to apply to the king of Sardinia, whoſe intereſt it was to preſerve the preſent ſyſtem of power in Italy, and who, by his ſituation, was beſt able to check the ambitious views of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties.

His Sardinian majeſty was, at this time, in the prime of life; and, joined to the hereditary virtues of his family, he poſſeſſed a conſummate knowledge of the art of war, an unconquerable ſpirit of bravery and reſolution, a deep inſight into the intereſts and connexions of the ſeveral powers of Europe, and a juſt ſenſe of his own dignity and importance. Bleſſed with theſe advantages, it is no wonder if his friendſhip was eagerly courted by all the contending parties; but true policy did not ſuffer him to remain long in a ſtate of indeciſion.

The queen of Spain made no ſecret, that it was her intention to erect Lombardy into a kingdom, in favour of her ſon, Don Philip; a young prince of an engaging aſpect, and of very promiſing virtues. This was an event, which the houſe of Savoy, from its almoſt hereditary antipathy to that of Bourbon, dreaded above all things. His Sardinian majeſty, however, made the beſt terms for himſelf, that could poſſibly be procured. He ſtipulated a ſubſidy from England: he reſerved

reſerved, in their full force, all the claims of his family upon the Milaneſe; and he obtained ſeveral private ceſſions of places that lay convenient for his dominions.

In conſideration of theſe advantages, he promiſed to join his forces to thoſe of the queen of Hungary, in order to check the progreſs of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan armies, which were then meditating a junction; and to cover the ſtates of Modena and Mirandola, which were the bulwarks of her Hungarian majeſty's dominions in Italy. He likewiſe undertook to prevent the Spaniſh troops which had been landed at Orbitello, and which were commanded by the duke de Montemar, from effecting a junction with another body, which had lately arrived in the port of Spezzia. And in theſe operations he was aſſured of being aſſiſted by a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron, to be kept in the Mediterranean for that purpoſe.

It happened, however, that, in ſome of his deſigns, he unluckily failed. The duke de Montemar, having obtained leave of the Pope to march through the eccleſiaſtical territories, found means to unite his forces, not only to the other body of Spaniards, but likewiſe to the Neapolitans; and the whole combined army amounted to about forty thouſand men, commanded in chief by the

duke de Montemar, and under him by the duke de Caſtropignano, the Neapolitan general.

The king of Sardinia was no ſooner informed of this event, than he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring his intention to ſupport the queen of Hungary, in her poſſeſſion of the Milaneze; and in the beginning of March, he entered that country at the head of thirty thouſand men, who were joined by ſeventeen thouſand Auſtrians, under the mareſchal count Traun.

As the duke of Modena, through whoſe dominions the king of Sardinia behoved to paſs, before he could attack the Spaniards, profeſſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, this circumſtance created, at firſt, ſome difficulty to the allies; but that obſtruction was ſoon removed by the imprudent and impolitic conduct of the duke himſelf.

Relying on the protection of the Spaniards, he concluded a private treaty with Montemar: and the king of Sardinia was no ſooner apprized of this incident, than he entered the duke's territories, drove him out of his dominions, ſeized upon his dutchy, and made himſelf maſter of his capital; while the duke, thus ſtripped of all his poſſeſſions, was obliged to retire to the Spaniſh army,

army, of which, by his late treaty, he aſſumed the nominal command.

By this time the Engliſh miniſtry had come to a reſolution to keep no farther meaſures with France. The conduct of the French admiral, in the Mediterranean, was a ſo ſtrong a demonſtration of the intentions of his court, that all their pretexts to a neutrality were become abſolutely ridiculous.

Leſtock, now a rear-admiral, commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in the neighbourhood of Antibes, where he watched the motions of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons in the harbour of Toulon. But, as it was determined to ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke in the Mediterranean, in the courſe of this ſummer, the ſupreme command of the fleet was beſtowed upon Mr. Matthews, who was promoted to the rank of a vice-admiral, and appointed his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to all the princes and ſtates of Italy.

Though Matthews had obtained this preferment by the intereſt of the new miniſtry, he had never diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in their favour. He was, at the time of his promotion, conſiderably advanced in years, but far from being diſqualified for action. His perſon was remarkably graceful, and his appearance ſufficiently expreſſive of his character, which was compoſed

of a due mixture of courage, candour, and ingenuity. These great qualities, however, were tarnished by some unhappy failings. He either was or appeared to be proud; and his passions were sometimes so headstrong and violent, as entirely to get the better of his reason. Besides, he had always cherished an inveterate antipathy towards Lestock, who, in every thing but courage, was a direct contrast to the other; and it was judged extremely impolitic in the new ministry to put two men in command, who might probably be tempted to sacrifice the good of their country to the gratification of their private resentment.

With all these faults Mathews was a brave and resolute seaman; and the first exploit performed under his command, shewed that England was determined to seek her foes wherever they could be found.

Mathews set sail from Spithead with seven ships of the line on the sixteenth day of April, and on the fourteenth of June he arrived at Villa Franca, where he assumed the command of the combined English squadrons. Captain Norris, who was upon a cruise between that harbour and Cape Rous, hearing that five Spanish gallies from Margaretta, were then lying at St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean, thought proper to block them up; and the Spaniards

ards beginning, as he ſaid, to fire upon him, he immediately gave orders to captain Callis, in the Duke fireſhip, to enter the harbour and burn the veſſels; an order, which the captain executed with equal bravery and ſucceſs.

The burning the ſhips of an enemy in a neutral port, was a thing that had been long unknown in the civilized ſtates of Europe; but, in fact, the conduct of the French in protecting the Spaniſh fleet, had deprived them of all claim to the privilege of neutrality. The news of this action therefore were received by the Engliſh with particular marks of joy; and the miniſters, if blameable in any particular, were thought to treat the French with too much lenity and indulgence.

The next exploit performed by admiral Mathews, was ſtill more acceptable to the people of Great-Britain. The king of Naples, as has been obſerved, had joined his forces to thoſe of his father; the united army amounted to about twenty thouſand: and, as the troops of the former were much better than thoſe of the latter, it was a matter of great importance to oblige his Neapolitan majeſty to adhere to the neutrality, which he profeſſed to obſerve.

For

For this purpose, Matthews ordered captain Martin, as commodore, with five ships of war, and eight tenders and bomb-ketches, to sail to Naples, and deliver to that court, a message from the king of England importing, that his Sicilian and Neapolitan majesty, having violated his neutrality by joining his forces with the declared enemies of Great Britain, of the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, with whom his Britannic majesty was in alliance, he (the commodore) was sent to require the king of Sicily, not only to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with those of Spain, but to promise, in writing, not to give them any farther assistance in any respect; adding, that if his Sicilian majesty should delay giving the proposed satisfaction, he had orders to bombard Naples.

It is incredible into what a consternation so inconsiderable a force threw the capital of that monarch. Few cities lay more convenient for a bombardment than Naples. Though one of the finest in Europe it was altogether defenceless towards the sea; and its gradual ascent of situation exposed almost every building in it to the bombs and firing from the ships. The inhabitants were filled with the most uneasy apprehensions from the first appearance of the British fleet; but

but their pannic became altogether intolerable, when on the fourth day of Auguſt, about four in the afternoon, the commodore caſt anchor before the city.

A few hours before, the duke de Monteallegre, his Sicilian majeſty's firſt miniſter deſired Mr. Allen, the Britiſh conſul at Naples, to go on board the commodore and learn his intentions; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, that his Sicilian majeſty would be glad to receive the Engliſh as friends, having nothing more at heart, than to live in amity with the king of Great-Britain. The conſul, accordingly, repaired on board the commodore, who delivered to him the meſſage above mentioned; and begged he would accompany and aſſiſt captain L'Angle, who was charged with a commiſſion to carry it to court.

The captain and conſul immediately ſet out, and arriving at the ſecretary's office about five in the evening, delivered the meſſage to the duke de Monteallegre, who, having peruſed it, with great emotion, replied, that an anſwer ſhould be given upon his majeſty's return from church. The king returning about ſix, a grand council was immediately ſummoned; and notwithſtanding all their reſentment at ſo imperious a meſſage they were obliged to ſubmit.

It

It is remarkable, that, in the course of the negociation, which lasted only a few hours, the duke de Monteallegre having taken the liberty to mention some reciprocal conditions, the commodore replied, that his orders were absolute, and did not authorize him to grant any such terms; that he expected a compliance in half an hour's time, or at fartheſt in an hour; or he should immediately begin to bombard the city.

This categorical answer had the desired effect. An assurance was given in writing, by the duke de Monteallegre, in the name of his Sicilian majesty, that he would immediately withdraw his troops from the army of Spain, and would not, for the future, afford them any assistance in the prosecution of the present war.*

This

* The letter, containing this promise, was conceived in the following terms:

"Sir,

"The king had already resolved, and given orders, "that his troops, which are joined with those of Spain, "should withdraw, in order to defend his own domi- "nions. His majesty commands me to acquaint you, "that he will, forthwith, repeat his orders, that his "troops, withdrawing from the Romagna, where they "are at present, immediately return into this king- "dom, and that he will not, in any manner whatso- "ever

This promiſe, was inſtantly performed. The Neapolitan troops were forthwith recalled, and the Spaniſh army being thus weakened, was able, during the remaining part of the campaign, to perform no action of importance.

Soon after, Mathews having received intelligence, that the Genoeſe had ſo far favoured the Spaniards as to provide for their uſe magazines of corn at Araſſa, ſent thither captain Martin, who, about the firſt of September, deſtroyed them entirely; while the admiral himſelf took up his ſtation at Hieres Iſlands, where his ſhips lay in an excellent road, and commanded every veſſel that might attempt to enter or quit the harbour of Toulon.

The Engliſh fleet, however, could not controul the operations of the Spaniards by land. A third embarkation of their troops having ſailed, without convoy, from Barcelona, part of them landed at Genoa, and part put into Toulon, about the beginning of

"ever, aid or aſſiſt thoſe of Spain, any more, in this "preſent war of Italy.

"Signed,

"The marquis of Salas, duke of Monteallegre.

"To captain William Martin,
"commander of the Engliſh ſqua-
"dron."

of March, before the Engliſh fleet had left Portſmouth: and, towards the latter end of April following, Don Philip, the new candidate for royalty, arrived by land at Antibes, in his way to Italy. The proſecution of this enterprize ſeemed to engroſs the whole attention of the Spaniſh court; and nothing, but the dread of an Engliſh fleet in the Mediterranean, could have induced them to attempt its accompliſhment in ſo dilatory and expenſive a manner, as that which they now purſued.

Her Catholic majeſty finding the king of Sardinia determined to fulfil his engagements with the queen of Hungary, was ſo incenſed at that monarch, that ſhe inſiſted on a recal of the Spaniſh miniſter from the court of Turin; and when the Sardinian miniſter took his leave of the court of Madrid, her paſſion betrayed her into a breach of that decorum, which is commonly obſerved among princes, even when engaged in actual war: "Tell your maſter," ſaid ſhe to the ambaſſador, "my ſon ſhall be a "king, whether he will or not."

This ſcheme, however, ſhe found ſhe could not execute, while the Engliſh continued maſters of the Mediterranean. Don Philip, upon his arrival at Antibes, ſaw the impoſſibility of proceeding any further; and a reſo-

a reſolution was therefore taken by the courts of France and Spain to change the theatre of the war, and to call off the attention of his Sardinian majeſty from the ſupport of the common cauſe to the defence of his own dominions.

Accordingly, a Spaniſh army of thirty thouſand men marched through France, under the conduct of count Glimes, who was the acting general under Don Philip. Their intention originally was to have forced their way into Piedmont, by Nice and Villa-franca; but a body of Piedmonteſe militia, aſſiſted by a detachment from the Britiſh fleet, broke up the roads in thoſe parts ſo effectually, as rendered them impaſſable to artillery. An attempt was then made to ſend a body of Miquelets, through the valley of Barcelonetta, to penetrate, by Demont, into the valley of Sturc; but the numerous narrow paſſes on the road were ſo ſtrongly guarded by the Piedmonteſe militia, that that ſcheme was likewiſe found impracticable.

Diſappointed in both theſe deſigns, the Spaniards defiled towards the left, and entered Savoy, where they met with but a feeble reſiſtance. In the beginning of September, Don Philip publiſhed two orders in the camp at Monſtier. By the firſt, he com-

manded the inhabitants of Savoy to come and pay obedience to him, and to ſettle the ſubſiſtence of his army. By the ſecond, he commanded the deputies of the provinces to take the oaths to him, to pay no more taxes to the king of Sardinia, to ſurrender their arms, and to give up, under pain of death, all correſpondence with their former ſovereign. On the tenth day of the ſame month, he entered Chamberry, the capital of Savoy, and was, with manifeſt ſigns of reluctance, received as its maſter, by the magiſtrates of that city.

The news of his progreſs was far from being agreeable to his Sardinian majeſty. That prince was then in a full career of ſucceſs againſt the Spaniards in Italy; but he no ſooner heard of the invaſion of his dutchy, than he reſolved immediately to march to its relief. Accordingly, having left a ſmall body of troops, under the command of the count D'Apremont, to co-operate with the Auſtrians, in his abſence, he ſet out with his main army; and, marching with incredible expedition, entered Turin on the eighth day of September. In the beginning of October, he advanced to Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Chamberry; and the infant, not chuſing to hazard a battle, retired, with ſome

ſome precipitation, towards Dauphiny, and took poſt under the cannon of fort Barreaux.

This reverſe of the infant's fortunes was attributed to the inactivity of the count de Glimes, who was therefore ſuperſeded in his command, by the marquis de las Minas. This laſt general, on the fifth day of December, arrived in the Spaniſh camp, with a conſiderable reinforcement, and, by a very bold and reſolute ſtroke, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Apremont. He then prepared to attack his Sardinian majeſty; and that prince, after ſome ineffectual endeavours to maintain his ground, was, at laſt, obliged to abandon his dutchy, and leave it to be once more occupied by the enemy. The ſeaſon for action being now expired, the armies, on all ſides, were put into winter quarters.

The Engliſh admiral had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in forwarding all the operations of the allies. Underſtanding that ſome troops had marched out of the Neapolitan dominions, to join count Gages, who had now ſucceeded the duke de Montemar in the command of the Spaniſh army, he preſented a remonſtrance on that head to his Sicilian majeſty, who ordered the duke de Montealegre to deliver to Mr. Allen, the Britiſh miniſter, a declaration, importing, that the king being reſolved to obſerve the neutrality in

the moſt inviolable manner, according to his engagements, he did not think he had, in the leaſt, infringed it, by ſending to the Spaniſh army the troops, which were in his ſervice, belonging to that nation: that the forces ſent were really the very regiments, which had always belonged to Spain, and which were lent to the king, in order to enable him to take poſſeſſion of Sicily: and that that body of troops having been always in the pay of his Catholic majeſty, muſt neceſſarily obey his majeſty's orders, whenever he ſhould think fit to recal them.

The conſul tranſmitted this apology to the Britiſh miniſtry, who, in all probability, would not have been ſatisfied with it, had admiral Matthews been in a condition to reſent it. But the ſhips employed in diſtreſſing the Spaniſh trade, and in favouring the operations of the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, left him a fleet ſcarce ſufficient to fight that of France and Spain, ſhould it attempt to come out of Toulon.

Add to this, that his Neapolitan majeſty, ſenſible of the weakneſs of his capital, from the laſt viſit paid him by the Engliſh, had cauſed ſome fortifications to be thrown up in order to defend the harbour. The Britiſh fleet, however, being ſoon after reinforced by a good number of ſhips under rear-admiral

ral Rowley, Matthews was enabled to diſtreſs the Spaniards in the moſt effectual manner, and to intercept all their ſupplies of men, money and proviſions.

The Genoeſe having diſcovered a manifeſt partiality in favour of the French and Spaniards, vice-admiral Matthews ordered the Britiſh conſul at Genoa, to declare to the ſenate, that, as the friendſhip of the king of Great-Britain ought to be dear to the republic, it was hoped they would be careful to preſerve it at preſent, by prohibiting their ſubjects from carrying any proviſions to the Spaniſh ſquadron and the coaſts of Provence.

To this intimation the republic replied, that, as they propoſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, it was not poſſible for them to hinder their ſubjects from trading to the coaſts of Provence: that it was their buſineſs to judge of the riſk they run by continuing ſuch a practice, when both the Britiſh and Spaniſh ſquadrons were hovering on their coaſt: and that all that the ſenate was capable of doing, or was conſiſtent with the neutrality, was to refrain themſelves from aſſiſting either party.

This anſwer being rather evaſive, the admiral ſent them another meſſage, expreſſing his hopes, that the republic would not only forbear to furniſh the Spaniards with pro-

viſions or forage, but would alſo deny them a paſſage through their territories. To this the ſenate replied, that being well acquainted with the rules of neutrality, they were inviolably determined to obſerve them; but, with regard to the paſſage of troops through their territories, be they of what power ſoever, the republic was not in a condition to oppoſe it; and that they could do no more than proteſt againſt all ſuch as ſhould attempt it, without their conſent.

This anſwer appearing as little ſatisfactory as the former, the commanders of the Britiſh ſhips of war made free with the Genoeſe ſhipping and territories. They ruined all the magazines of proviſions wherever they could find them within the republic's dominions, upon a preſumption that they were laid up for the uſe of the Spaniards.

They refuſed to perform quarantine, a circumſtance, which threw the ſtate of Genoa into ſuch a pannic, that they made fruitleſs complaints of it to the court of Great-Britain: and the Engliſh admiral even ordered the St. Iſidore, a Spaniſh ſhip of the line, which had been driven by ſtreſs of weather into Corſica, to be burnt there; an order that was inſtantly executed.

About the ſame time, ſome Britiſh men of war with bomb-ketches appeared on the coaſts

coaſts of Catalonia, where they threw bombs and red hot bullets into the towns of Matara and Palarmos, a conſiderable part of which was actually laid in ruins. From thence the Engliſh proceeded all along the ſea coaſts; and ſometimes landing laid whole diſtricts under contribution. This was the fate of St. Fælix, Pineda, Gavel, Ica, and even of ſome places in the neighbourhood of Barcelona itſelf. In theſe deſcents too, a great number of villages were reduced to aſhes.

But, notwithſtanding the many important ſervices performed for the houſe of Auſtria by the Britiſh arms, it required an uncommon ſteadineſs of mind in the king of Sardinia to withſtand the temptations, as well as the dangers, that now ſurrounded him.

Had he given ear to a project, which the court of France had at this time in view, he might have added Geneva to his dominions. This project went ſo far, that the Dutch ambaſſador at Paris taxed cardinal Fleury with it; and his eminency affected to deny it with ſome heat. The ſcheme, however, ſeems to have been carried farther than the public were at that time aware. Certain it is, it came to the knowledge of the Geneveſe themſelves, who immediately applied, for the ſtipulated ſuccours, to the Swiſs Cantons, their allies and protectors; forti-

fortified their city; and concerted the signals that were to pass between them and the Switzers, in case of danger.

At the same time, the French court proposed to the house of Savoy a very advantagious match between the prince of Piedmont and a daughter of France; and they seemed so sure of succeeding, that the news-writers pretended the articles were actually settled. This report gained the greater credit, on account of the seeming indifference, with which his Sardinian majesty had left Don Philip in possession of Savoy. But that prince published a manifesto, declaring, that he was obliged to retire before a superior force, in order to protect the most valuable part of his dominions; and, as a further proof of his steadiness, he ordered his ministers, who were but too much attached to the French, to trouble him with no more proposals from that quarter.

In the course of this year, admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another attempt against the Spaniards in America. They had received in the spring a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governour of Jamaica, who accompanied them in the voyage. Their design was to land their troops at Porto-Bello, and march across the isthmus

iſthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They ſailed from Jamaica in the beginning of March, and about the end of it arrived at Porto-Bello.

The admiral obſerving the diſorder of the inhabitants, and that many of them were preparing to abandon the place, ſent an officer aſhore to offer them protection. Encouraged by this indulgence, a deputation came from the magiſtrates, thanking him for his humanity, and accepting his offer; and a protection was accordingly granted them by the unanimous conſent of a council of war.

It was likewiſe reſolved, that a detachment ſhould be ſent up the river Caſcahal, in order to cut off the communication between Porto Bello and Panama, and to take poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe, and ſecure it with a guard. This reſolution was immediately carried into execution.

By this time, lieutenant Lowther, the original projector of the ſcheme, and who had been ſent before, as a private trader, to procure intelligence, had rejoined the main fleet, and, in conſequence of his opinion, it was reſolved, in a council of war of the land officers, that the attempt againſt Panama was, for that year, impracticable. This determination was ſoon communicated

to

to Vernon, who complained bitterly of the land-officers having a dead majority againſt him in all councils of war; and moſt earneſtly, in his letters to the government, deſired to be recalled.

In ſupport of the opinion of the land-officers, a paper was delivered by Wentworth, alledging, that there was not a ſufficient number of men to carry into effect the enterprize againſt Panama; and that this was owing to an omiſſion in one part of the ſcheme. The governour of Porto-Bello, he ſaid, with three companies of ſoldiers, and two of mulattoes and negroes, had retired to Panama; and, on the cutting off theſe, the ſucceſs of the enterprize, in a great meaſure, depended; eſpecially as the governour was a man of great courage and abilities, and one in whom the Spaniards placed an entire confidence: and he added, that there was undoubted intelligence, that a ſtrong reinforcement of troops was lately arrived at Panama from Lima, and that conſiderable improvements had been made in the fortifications of the city.

In anſwer to theſe allegations, Vernon affirmed, that if, the very day the fleet appeared before Porto-Bello, Wentworth had, according to the admiral's advice in a council of war, ſent a detachment up the river Caſcahal,

cahal, he might have intercepted the governour and his troops; who did not leave the place till next morning. The result of the whole was, that, the design being judged impracticable, the fleet and transports set sail for Jamaica, where they arrived on the fifteenth day of May.

Such was the shameful and inglorious conclusion of the most important, the most expensive, and the best concerted expedition, that ever Great-Britain had undertaken. It is still a problem, and, in all likelihood, will ever remain so, between the sea and land officers, where the blame ought to be laid. Vernon's main drift seems to have been to keep himself clear of all legal imputation: and Wentworth screened himself behind the opinions of councils of war and points of generalship; cautions, which are always disregarded by a great officer, and which never fail to prove fatal to enterprizes that depend upon the rapidity of execution and the happy seizure of an opportunity. In a word, from the failure of this expedition, the English received a melancholy proof, that as dissension is the misfortune of a free state, so is it the ruin of a military project.

In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St.

St. Auguſtine, commanded by Don Manuel de Monteano, governour of that fortreſs. It conſiſted of ſix and thirty ſhips, from which three thouſand men were landed at St. Simon's; and began their march for Frederica. But general Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took ſuch wiſe precautions for oppoſing their progreſs, and harraſſed them in their march with ſuch activity and reſolution, that, after ſeveral bloody rencounters, in which they were always defeated, they retired to their ſhips, and totally abandoned the enterprize.

The parliament of Great-Britain met on the ſixteenth day of November, when his majeſty acquainted the two houſes, that he had augmented the Britiſh troops in the Low-Countries with ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrian armies, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe; and he attributed to the councils of Great-Britain the magnanimity and firmneſs of the queen of Hungary, the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and the ſtop that had been put to the Spaniſh invaſion of Italy, to which the Britiſh fleet contributed in ſo great a degree.

It

It is a maxim, agreeable to reaſon and confirmed by experience, that it requires not ſo great abilities to oppoſe, as to conduct, or even defend, an adminiſtration in England. The diſtinguiſhed talents that had appeared in the gentlemen of the new miniſtry, while engaged in the late oppoſition, were all obſcured from the eyes of the public the moment they attained to the direction of affairs.

The truth is, the number of their friends was ſmall, and their intereſt ſtill ſmaller; for, though they were ſupported by the remains of the late adminiſtration, who were ſtill very powerful, yet that advantage they enjoyed not from any kindneſs, which the others bore them, but from their common fear or hatred of a third party: and what added to the unpopularity of the new miniſtry, was the diſgrace they had incurred by having changed their party and principles, without being poſſeſſed of any real power.

This, with regard to money, was ſtill in the hands of the old adminiſtration, and with regard to meaſures, it was engroſſed by lord Carteret, a miniſter of ſuperior capacity and influence, and independent, in his public conduct, of all party connections.

But even the capacity of that able miniſter, however great, was thought inſufficient for

juſtifying to the nation the bold meaſures, that had lately been adopted. Sixteen thouſand Britiſh troops were now in Flanders, idle, unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants; while the Dutch refuſed to fulfill their engagements in favour of the queen of Hungary; a circumſtance, which created a ſuſpicion, that the government of England, was to take upon itſelf the whole ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria.

This ſuſpicion was farther ſtrengthened, when the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay were ordered to join the Engliſh in Flanders; and when it came to be publickly known, that the ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians, ſent upon the ſame deſtination, were likewiſe to be in the pay of Great-Britain, and that too upon terms ſaid to be more advantageous than uſual, the matter ſeemed to be put beyond controverſy.

All theſe topics, the latter eſpecially, were blazoned out and exaggerated to the publick, in a ſet of the moſt flagitious and indecent writings that ever appeared in England. The preſs did not now, as formerly, point at the miniſter alone; it was directly levelled againſt the ſovereign himſelf, on account of his double capacity as king and elector: and the people were, by theſe means, inflamed to the higheſt degree of frenzy and diſtraction.

It

It was eaſily foreſeen, that if the oppoſition in parliament ſhould continue to be as ſtrong as it had been in the preceding ſeſſion, it might be attended with conſequences fatal to the internal peace of the kingdom; and theſe apprehenſions were ſtill farther encreaſed by the ſpirit of diſcontent, which began to appear among the officers of the army, both at home and abroad, upon account of the Hanoverian forces.

The miniſter, for ſo lord Carteret was now termed, exerted himſelf with equal ſpirit and ability in defending the meaſures, which the government had embraced. He appealed to the reſolutions of the parliament and to the late voice of the people; both which had concurred in calling upon his majeſty to undertake the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria. He inſiſted, that the promiſing ſituation of affairs on the continent was entirely owing to the vigour and firmneſs of his majeſty's councils; and he continued, in ſpite of all appearances to the contrary, to affirm, that the Dutch would infallibly take part in the war, if they ſaw his majeſty perſevere in his conduct.

Many of the moſt candid and conſiſtent friends of the late oppoſition agreed with the miniſter in theſe ſentiments; and ſome of them were now promoted to places of truſt

and profit. Lord Gower, the moſt popular nobleman in the party, was made lord privy-ſeal: lord Bathurſt, who had always been conſidered as one of the moſt plauſible ſpeakers in the houſe of peers, was appointed captain of the band of penſioners; and ſeveral gentlemen in the houſe of commons were, at the ſame time, provided in poſts under the government.

Though theſe promotions were generally agreeable, and ſeemed to promiſe a majority to the government; yet, they were far from allaying the heats that prevailed, both in the parliament and the nation. The chief preferments had fallen on thoſe, who were conſidered as Tories, or, at leaſt, as of moderate principles with regard to any party; and the gentlemen in the oppoſition were not even without hopes, that, when the great points came to be diſcuſſed, ſome of the new courtiers would, as they actually did, vote againſt the miniſtry.

An addreſs was propoſed, diſputed, and carried in both houſes; and each met with a moſt gracious anſwer from his majeſty. Neither party thought proper to exert its ſtrength on ſo trifling an occaſion: that they determined to reſerve, for a more important object; nor was it long before a field was preſented for

for the full diſplay of their declamatory talents.

On the ſixteenth day of December a motion was made in the lower houſe, to reſolve, that the ſum of two hundred and ſixty-five thouſand one hundred and ninety one pounds ſix ſhillings and two pence farthing ſhould be granted to his majeſty for defraying the charge of five thouſand five hundred and twelve horſe, and ten thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty five foot, of the troops of Hanover, together with the general officers and the train of artillery, in the pay of Great-Britain, from the thirty firſt day of Auguſt to the twenty-fifth day of December incluſive: that the ſum of three hundred and ninety two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds eight ſhillings and three pence ſhould be granted to his majeſty, for defraying the charge of the ſaid troops from the twenty-ſixth day of December 1742, to the twenty-fifth day of December 1743: and that the ſum of one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and one penny halfpenny ſhould be granted to his majeſty, for defraying the expence of one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-horſe, and four thouſand nine hundred and eight foot of the troops of his majeſty the king of Sweden, as elector of

Heſſe Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, from the twenty-firſt day of December 1742 to the twenty-fifth day of December 1743.

The debates, which happened in both houſes upon the two firſt reſolutions, were extremely obſtinate and violent; and the reflections thrown out were more ſevere and perſonal than could well have been expected in aſſemblies, that owned the elector of Hanover for their ſovereign. The late clamours of the oppoſition for compelling the government to eſpouſe the cauſe of her Hungarian majeſty were entirely forgotten; and a new doctrine was, all of a ſudden, adopted, that the endeavours of Great-Britain to ſave the houſe of Auſtria were vain and fruitleſs, and calculated only to protect Hanover, and load England with the expence of Hanoverian mercenaries.

It was ſtrongly inſinuated in pamphlets and papers, which were known to be wrote by the heads of the party, but were fathered by minor authors, that the act of ſettlement, which provides againſt Great Britain ever being engaged in a war, on account of the dominions belonging to her king on the continent, had been violated; and broad hints were even thrown out, what courſe, in ſuch a ſituation, the people ought to purſue. It was farther pretended, that the whole

whole of the bargain, for the electoral troops, was an impoſition upon the people of England; inaſmuch as thoſe troops durſt not act againſt the head of the empire, without expoſing his majeſty to the danger of its ban; and of the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, the late neutrality for the electorate of Hanover, was urged as an irrefragable proof.

The meaſure of ſending the Britiſh troops to the continent, before a promiſe had been previouſly obtained of the concurrence of the States-General, was ſeverely cenſured; and, in anſwer to his majeſty, who had ſaid, in his ſpeech, that he had done it in purſuance of the repeated advice of his parliament, it was alledged, that that advice was given, only upon the ſuppoſition, that the States-General or ſome other power in Europe would have joined Great-Britain in her endeavours to preſerve the houſe of Auſtria.

It was affirmed, that the taking ſo great a number of foreign mercenaries into pay, without conſulting the parliament, was highly unconſtitutional, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of that auguſt aſſembly: that the money expended in ſending Britiſh troops to the continent, and maintaining them there, together with the ſums to be paid for the hire of mercenaries, would have been more than

than ſufficient to have enabled the queen of Hungary, had it been given her, to have maintained double the number of forces; or, if ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which was no more than half of what was paid by Great-Britain to troops in her ſervice, had been given her in ſpecie, ſhe could have maintained fifty thouſand men in places, where they could have acted with greater effect for her intereſt; ſo that ſeven hundred thouſand pounds were actually laviſhed away, beſides the blood of ſo many Engliſhmen, who would probably be ſacrificed in that romantic quarrel: that, in any event, nothing could be more ridiculous than the aſſembling the army in Flanders, where it could be of no ſervice to the queen of Hungary; but, if it ſhould give the French a pretext for attacking the Dutch territories, might engage England, as a principal, in an expenſive and dangerous land war; that it did not appear, that the electorate of Hanover, though more immediately concerned in the event of the war than Great-Britain, had contributed any thing to the ſupport of the common cauſe: that, on the contrary, ſhe had made a much more advantageous bargain than ſhe obtained in the year 1702, when the earl of Marlborough

rough negociated with baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian miniſter, the hire of ten thouſand men from the houſe of Lunenburg; for there was in that convention no ſtipulation, either for hay or recruit levy-money, which, in the preſent contract, amounted, with the pay of the ſtaff officers and thoſe of the artillery, to one hundred and thirty-nine thouſand, three hundred and thirteen pounds: that this, it was ſaid, muſt appear the more extraordinary, as the ſixteen thouſand men paid by England were not raiſed at her requeſt; and as more than ſix thouſand had, upon the death of the late emperor, been added to the ordinary forces of the electorate: and finally, that the greateſt part of the ſtanding army, conſiſting of twenty-three thouſand ſoldiers, and eleven thouſand five hundred and fifty marines, who were kept at home, might, had there been an abſolute neceſſity, have ſupplied the place of the expenſive mercenaries now taken into pay.

Such was the ſubſtance of the principal arguments that were urged againſt this famous meaſure; a meaſure, which produced ſuch a ferment in the nation as had well nigh thrown it into civil convulſions. The Whigs in the oppoſition renounced all the maxims of their party during the reigns of king

king William and queen Anne: their moſt glorious ſucceſſes and victories on the continent were now ſtiled illuſtrious deviations from the true intereſt of England; and a new and till of late unheard of doctrine was broached, that Great-Britain ought not, upon any account, to engage in a war upon the continent of Europe, except by employing her good offices, or, upon very great and intereſting emergencies, by ſupplying her allies with money, and that too with a very ſparing hand.

It muſt be owned, indeed, that this oppoſition was more ſpecious than any that had been formed againſt the late miniſter. The principles, upon which it was founded, were plauſible, and ſeemingly calculated for the intereſt of England. But the misfortune is, that it was utterly devoid of all ſolidity. The meaſure of taking the Hanoverians into pay was the conſequence of the repeated importunities of the nation, which never ceaſed to ſolicit his majeſty to eſpouſe the cauſe of the queen of Hungary; and, but a few months before, the ſupport of that princeſs was the great criterion, by which the merits of the party, who now oppoſed it, were to be determined.

The apprehenſions of the Hanoverians being afraid to act againſt France and the emperor

emperor were idle and ridiculous; and the event ſhewed them to be entirely groundleſs. Nor were the numerous ſuggeſtions, that had been thrown out with regard to the coldneſs and backwardneſs of the Dutch, any better founded. The late revolution in the Britiſh miniſtry, and the arts and menaces of France, had, indeed, kept them in a ſtate of indeciſion: but no ſooner did the Britiſh troops land in Flanders, and were joined by thoſe in Britiſh pay, than their fears began to ſubſide; and when they were informed by the mouth of the Engliſh miniſter, that the meaſure of ſending the troops to Flanders had been unanimouſly approved in his majeſty's council, the friends of public liberty began to take courage, and the marquis de Fenelon was given to underſtand, that the republic was determined immediately to change her meaſures.

Nay, the French faction in Holland were convinced, that the people would no longer ſuffer them to temporize; and that, if any further delays were interpoſed, an inſtant change of government would be effected, and the prince of Orange raiſed to the office of ſtadtholder. Thus it appeared, that while the oppoſition in England were inſiſting on the coldneſs, the backwardneſs, and

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the neutrality of the Dutch, the States-general were adopting very vigorous resolutions.

But, had it even been otherwise, had the Dutch been as averse to a war as they were commonly represented; the conduct of the English ministry would have been still very defensible. That Great-Britain was able, if properly seconded by her allies, to support the house of Austria, was sufficiently apparent from the present state of the war. The queen of Hungary was victorious in Germany: the influence of Great-Britain had eased her of the enmity of the kings of Prussia and Poland, and procured her the alliance of the king of Sardinia; and the Spaniards, instead of gaining ground, had lost it in Italy, chiefly by means of the British squadron.

With regard to the objection, that it would have been more advantageous for the queen of Hungary to be furnished with money than men, she herself was of a different opinion; she rather chose the assistance of England in troops; and his majesty could trust no mercenaries so much as his own electoral subjects.

Besides, the necessity was pressing, and men could not be got merely for money; or, if they could, they were raw and undisci-

diſciplined, and, however proper for caſual rencounters or ſudden attacks, were altogether unfit to act againſt the veteran troops of the enemy in regular battles and ſieges. The queen of Hungary, therefore, not having men of her own, muſt apply to ſome other ſtate; but there was not, at that time, a prince or a ſtate in Europe, that would lend their troops even for hire.

Nor was the clamour againſt the dearneſs of the Hanoverian troops any better founded. By comparing the convention between the houſe of Hanover and England in 1702 with the terms upon which the electoral troops were now taken into Britiſh pay, the bargain will appear to have been as advantageous in the former as in the latter period.

Add to this, that, in 1702, Hanover had nothing to fear, whereas, in 1742, it had every thing to fear; and his majeſty muſt be at an immenſe additional expence to ſupply the place of the troops, which he had ſo generouſly lent to the common cauſe. It was evident, beſides, that had England hired troops from any other prince in Europe, ſhe muſt have paid a ſubſidy for them, as ſhe did for the Danes and Heſſians, during their continuance in her ſervice; but ſhe paid none for the Hanoverians; a circum-

ſtance, which rendered them a cheaper purchaſe than any other troops ſhe could have procured.

Neither could the neceſſity of the juncture admit of his majeſty's taking, in a formal manner, the opinion of his parliament on that ſubject. He was ſufficiently impowered, as well by the repeated addreſſes of both houſes, as by his own prerogative, to do what he had done; and, towards the cloſe of laſt ſeſſion, he had even informed the parliament, that it would be neceſſary for him to take ſome ſuch ſtep during the approaching vacation.

Finally it was urged in vindication of the meaſure, that if the queen of Hungary was not effectually aſſiſted, and that with men, as well as money, it would be much better for Great-Britain not to aſſiſt her at all; ſince any aſſiſtance, but an effectual one, would be ſo much money thrown away, without doing any ſervice either to her or to England.

Such were the principal arguments advanced on both ſides of this important queſtion. At laſt, upon a diviſion, the meaſure was approved in the lower houſe by a majority of two hundred and ſixty againſt one hundred and ninety-three. So ſmall a majority in the houſe of commons, conſi-

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dering the number of new placemen in it, was next to a minority, and was regarded in that light all over the nation.

The queſtion, however, received a much fuller deciſion in the houſe of peers. On the firſt day of February *, the earl of Stanhope made a motion to reſolve, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to beſeech and adviſe him, that conſidering the exceſſive and grievous expences incurred by the great number of foreign troops, now in the pay of Great-Britain; expences, increaſed by the extraordinary manner, as there was reaſon to apprehend, of making the eſtimates relating to them, and which did not appear to be conducive to the end propoſed; his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, in compaſſion to his ſubjects already loaded with ſuch numerous and heavy taxes, ſuch large and growing debts, and greater annual expences, than the nation at any time ever before ſuſtained, to exonerate his ſubjects of the charge and burden of thoſe mercenaries, who were taken into the Britiſh ſervice laſt year, without the advice or conſent of parliament.

This motion, which was ſeconded by the earl of Sandwich, gave occaſion to a long

* A. D. 1743.

and an obſtinate debate. Among thoſe who oppoſed it, was the earl of Bath, formerly Mr. Pulteney, and head of the oppoſition in the houſe of commons. He was, in his principles, a profeſſed Whig; and, as ſuch, he had oppoſed the late miniſter; but he never intended that this oppoſition ſhould be carried farther than to deliver the nation from thoſe meaſures, which, as a Whig, he eſteemed wrong, and, for the purſuing which, he blamed the miniſter, who had riſen upon the Whig intereſt.

He thought, that the grounds of oppoſing were removed with the late miniſter, and that it became him to ſupport the preſent meaſures, which were thoſe he had always recommended, while he was in the oppoſition. The aſſiſting the queen of Hungary, and reducing the power of France, had been always his favourite topics, and he now employed all the powers of his eloquence, which were confeſſed to be great, in defending and enforcing them.

The other principal ſpeakers againſt this motion, were, the lord-chancellor, the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Cholmondeley, lord Carteret, and lord Bathurſt. The chief ſpeakers for it, beſides the earls by whom it was made and ſeconded, were the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, viſcount

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Lonſdale, and lord Hervey. At laſt, the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a majority of ninety againſt thirty-five voices.

The lords, not ſatisfied with a bare refuſal to cenſure the meaſure, reſolved to approve it in the ſtrongeſt terms. Accordingly it was moved by the earl of Scarborough, to reſolve, that, in the unſettled and dangerous ſituation of affairs in Europe, the ſending a conſiderable body of Britiſh forces into the Auſtrian Netherlands, and augmenting the ſame with ſixteen thouſand of his majeſty's electoral troops, and the Heſſians in the Britiſh pay, and thereby, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary's troops in the Low Countries, forming a great army for the ſervice of the common cauſe, was a wiſe, uſeful, and neceſſary meaſure, tending to the ſupport and encouragement of his majeſty's allies, the real and effectual aſſiſtance of the queen of Hungary, and the reſtoring and maintaining the ballance of power in Europe. Though this motion was violently oppoſed by the ſame arguments which had been urged in favour of the former, yet, upon a diviſion, it was carried by a majority of forty-three voices. It was remarked, that all the ſervants of the prince of Wales voted in favour of the Hanoverians, as did the

prince himſelf, and his brother, who were both in the houſe during the debate.

The commons now proceeded to conſider the eſtimates, and ſettle the ſupplies. They voted five hundred and thirty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds for the pay of the Britiſh troops in Flanders. They fixed the number of land-forces at twenty-three thouſand ſix hundred and ten effective men, for guards, garriſons, and other ſervices; and, for defraying the charge of theſe troops, and other ſervices in Great-Britain, the Weſt-Indies, Guernſey and Jerſey, they granted the ſum of ſix hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-two pounds five ſhillings and ten-pence.

They likewiſe granted his majeſty two hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteen pounds for maintaining his troops and garriſons in the plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar, and for proviſions for the garriſons of Annapolis Royal, Canſo, Placentia, Providence, and Georgia. They continued the number of marines, amounting to eleven thouſand five hundred and fifty; and allotted the ſum of two hundred and ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty-three pounds, fifteen ſhillings for defraing their charges: and they granted one hundred and forty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and thirty ſeven ſhillings

lings and two-pence for the charge of the ordnance, as alſo ninety-eight thouſand ſix hundred and forty-eight pounds thirteen ſhillings and five pence for the extraordinary expence of that ſervice.

Though all theſe were large grants, yet they met with little oppoſition, in compariſon of that which attended the meaſure of the Hanoverian troops. The land-tax was fixed at four ſhillings in the pound, and that, with ſome other bills, being ready for the royal aſſent, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, where, after paſſing the bills, he declared, in a ſpeech to both houſes, that he was glad of the occaſion, which his coming there, at that time, gave him, of expreſſing to them the great ſatisfaction which he took in ſeeing ſo good a progreſs already made in the buſineſs of the ſeſſion: that the readineſs and diſpatch, with which they had thus eaſily provided ſo conſiderable a part of the ſupplies for the public ſervice, demanded his particular thanks; and he made no doubt but the ſame zeal for the common cauſe would induce them to enable him to concert proper meaſures, and to contract or fulfil ſuch alliances and engagements, with other powers, as might be neceſſary for the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and for reſtoring the ballance of Europe; and

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that he looked upon this good beginning a a ſure pledge of their ſteadineſs in purſuing the true intereſt of Great-Britain, which was, and ever ſhould be his only view.

This ſpeech was ſuppoſed to be calculated, as well to give the public a good opinion of the agreement between the miniſtry and the parliament, and of his majeſty's ſatisfaction with the new adminiſtration, as to obtain a vote of credit. Certain it is, the minority believed, that the miniſter would never be bold enough to make ſuch a demand, and they were therefore thrown into ſome perplexity, when they ſaw it come from the crown.

An addreſs of thanks, however, was voted by the commons, and, after ſome debate, a reſolution taken, that a ſum, not exceeding five hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be granted to his majeſty, towards enabling him to concert ſuch meaſures, to form ſuch alliances, or to contract ſuch engagements with other powers, as his majeſty ſhould judge neceſſary for the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria, and re-eſtabliſhing the ballance of power in Europe.

At the ſame time the commons granted one hundred and thirty-three thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-two pounds eight ſhillings and eleven pence, for the freight of tranſports

tranſports between the firſt day of January, 1741, and the thirty-firſt day of December, 1742. In a word, the ſupplies granted this ſeſſion, amounted nearly to ſix millions ſterling.

It was eaſier, however, to grant than to raiſe money; and the commons found ſome difficulty in ſettling the funds for that purpoſe. The land tax and malt bill had already been paſſed; but theſe were not judged ſufficient to produce the ſums that had been granted to the government. At laſt, after various conſultations, a motion was made to alter the duties on ſpirituous liquors.

This, it muſt be owned, was a dangerous expedient; but the truth is, all the remedies, which had been hitherto propoſed and applied for preventing the uſe of thoſe pernicious liquors, had been found ineffectual; and the public revenue had ſuffered a great diminution, while the health and morals of the people were not, in the leaſt, mended. A motion was therefore made to reſolve, that the duty of twenty ſhillings per gallon upon ſpirituous liquors ſhould be diſcontinued; and that, towards raiſing the ſupplies granted to his majeſty, there ſhould be paid for every gallon of low wines or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, made or drawn from any foreign or imported materials, ſix-pence over

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and above all other duties charged or chargeable on these liquors.

This motion was productive of a long and violent debate. The conscientious part of the house, who had been zealous in promoting the gin-act, looked upon the repeal of it to be a kind of licence granted to the people for poisoning themselves; and they therefore opposed the measure with great vehemence.

It was urged on the other hand, that the prohibition of spirituous liquors had been found impracticable, as no method could be devised to prevent the clandestine sale of them: that a high duty was next to a prohibition: and that the duty proposed was sufficiently large at first, but might be afterwards encreased, if deemed expedient. The motion was at last approved, and a bill prepared, and passed, and sent up to the lords for their approbation.

In the upper house, it met with a more vigorous opposition, than what it had sustained in the lower. Lord Hervey proposed, that some physicians should be ordered to attend the house, to explain to their lordships the pernicious consequence of drinking drams; but, as this motion had too much the air of ridicule and could only create un-

unneceſſary delays, it was rejected by a great majority.

The bill was oppoſed by the arch-biſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Exeter, St. Aſaph, Norwich, Briſtol, Glouceſter, Sarum, Oxford, and Chicheſter, by the duke of Bedford, the earls of Aylesford, Sandwich and Cheſterfield, and the lords Lonſdale, Talbot, and Hervey. It was defended by the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Cholmondley, Ilay, and Bath, and the lords Carteret and Bathurſt.

In the courſe of the debate, which conſiſted entirely of ſuch arguments as have been formerly exhibited on the ſame ſubject, there frequently appeared ſome brilliant ſallies of wit and humour. The earl of Cheſterfield concluded his ſpeech with the following expreſſions: "For my own part, my lords, I "think the tax now propoſed much worſe "than the tax invented by Veſpaſian's ways "and means men: it is not only mean and "ſordid, but it is vicious to the laſt de-"gree; becauſe it will encourage and pro-"mote that vice, which is the parent of "every vice. If your lordſhips, therefore "ſhould approve this bill, when you come "to the preamble, I ſhall propoſe an "amendment, which I think a very nece-"ſſary one, for the ſake of truth, as well as

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" religion." In that part of the preamble where it ſaid, "" by and with the advice of "" the lords ſpiritual and temporal,"" " I " hope your lordſhips will leave out the word "" ſpiritual ;"" for it will bring a ſcandal up- " on the religion of the age, to have it re- " corded in our law books, that the reve- " rend bench gave their conſent to ſuch a " bill. Beſides, it is falſe in fact; for ſome " of them have appeared openly and avow- " edly againſt it; and I do not find, that " any one of them will adviſe or conſent to " it." After a warm and obſtinate diſpute, the bill was paſſed by a majority of fifty-nine againſt thirty-eight voices.

The minority in both houſes were the more chagrined at the uncommon liberality of the parliament, as they had actually taken great pains in all parts of the kingdom to procure addreſſes from conſtituents to their members, intreating and even requiring them to agree to no motion for a ſupply, until they had got the place, the penſion and the triennial bills paſſed into laws. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions a motion was made for a place-bill, and ſeconded by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

To all the arguments, which had formerly been urged in favour of that meaſure, was added a new one, derived from the behaviour

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of thoſe gentlemen, who had lately accepted of places under the government; and whoſe principles and ſentiments, it was alledged, had, ſince that period, undergone an entire revolution.

To this inſinuation the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that, for his own part he was as great a friend, as ever, to the place-bill; but, in his opinion, this was a very improper time for introducing it: that his majeſty's councils now admitted perſons, who were zealous promoters of that bill, and might probably, in time, bring it to take place; but if the matter was precipitated, before they had an opportunity of removing the prejudices, which former counſellors might have infuſed againſt ſuch a meaſure, it might be the occaſion of a breach between his majeſty and his people, and give great advantages to the enemies of both: that, for theſe reaſons, though he ſhould be ready to embrace the firſt favourable opportunity of having paſſed it into a law, yet he was againſt puſhing it at preſent; eſpecially as he had, he thought, good ground to believe, that he ſhould, in a very ſhort time, have the pleaſure of ſeeing it approved by every part of the legiſlature. It was pretended, indeed, that ſuch a bill had been long under the deliberation of the government; and that

very few difficulties remained to be removed, in order to make it acceptable to all parties: but whether there was any truth in this declaration, or whatever was the cauſe, certain it is, the bill was never produced. The motion, however, was rejected for the preſent by a majority of twenty-ſeven voices.

The laſt object of importance which came before the commons, during this ſeſſion, was the manner of remitting money to the Britiſh troops in Flanders. Mr. Gore, a merchant of eminence and character, had been uſually employed on theſe occaſions; and laſt year, when the army went abroad, he delivered his propoſals to the Treaſury-board, importing, that he would give his bills on Amſterdam for ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for the ſervice of the troops, upon his receiving the value of them, at the rate of ten guilders eleven ſtivers and a half for each pound ſterling. His propoſal was accepted, and the bargain immediately concluded.

By this agreement Mr. Gore, for every twenty ſhillings, which he received in London, was to pay no more at Amſterdam than ten guilders eleven ſtivers and a half; and as the current exchange between London and Amſterdam was then at the rate of ten guilders and eighteen ſtivers for a pound ſterling,

ſterling, ſome gentlemen thought the profits were too great.

In order, therefore, to remove theſe objections, Mr. Gore delivered another propoſal, offering to remit at the rate of ten guilders thirteen ſtivers per pound, and expreſſing his hope, that, in caſe the rate of exchange ſhould decline, their lordſhips would give him relief. This propoſal was likewiſe accepted, and the next remittances were to be regulated accordingly.

Though the profits were now ſufficiently moderate, Wilkinſon and Muilman, two Dutch merchants, reſiding in London, either tempted by the love of gain, or moved by that envy, which is ſo common among traders, gave in propoſals to the board of Treaſury, offering to remit at the rate of ten guilders ſixteen ſtivers.

The lords of the Treaſury referred to the conſideration of Mr. Pelham, paymaſter-general of the army, the propoſals of the contending merchants. Mr. Pelham, having accordingly examined the matter with his uſual candour, and taken the opinion of ſome gentlemen of unqueſtioned credit and integrity, and intimately acquainted with money-affairs, delivered it as their joint opinion, that the propoſal of Mr. Gore, at the rate of ten guilders thirteen ſtivers cur-

rent money of Holland, conſidering the great ſums, which would probably be remitted that year, was rather a bold undertaking than otherwiſe, and that, in their opinion, if accepted, would tend to the ſervice of the public.

Mr. Pelham added, as his own judgment of the matter, that the certainty of Mr. Gore's remittances, who tranſacted theſe affairs at the houſe of Meſſieurs Pells and Clifford, was a great ſecurity to the government; becauſe whatever ſums might be required, there could be no danger of a diſappointment: that if Meſſieurs Wilkinſon and Muilman, indeed, effectually carried on theſe remittances at the rates they propoſed, the difference of three ſtivers upon every pound ſterling would be a great advantage to the public: but, as they propoſed to make trial for only two or three remittances at the rate of ten guilders ſixteen ſtivers per pound ſterling, without fixing any continuance of time, or certainty of the ſum they would remit at that rate, from which uncertainty the government, he apprehended, might be laid under great difficulties, and thereby the public ſervice be hurt; and, as Mr. Gore had declared, that he looked upon himſelf as bound by his propoſals for one year certain; and conſider-

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ing that, for the time paſt, this ſervice had been carried on with great exactneſs and punctuality, a thing of the utmoſt conſequence to the public; he ſubmitted it to their lordſhips, whether the preſent advantages ariſing from theſe propoſals, would be thought a proper inducement to put this tranſaction into other hands, and whether any alterations in this affair, at this conjuncture, might not be attended with great inconveniences.

Mean while Wilkinſon and Muilman delivered to the pay-maſter another propoſal, ſignifying, that they were ready to furniſh, at Amſterdam, all the money that might be neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice, at the rate of ten guilders ſixteen ſtivers per pound ſterling, for ſuch a term of time, as contracts of that nature are generally made, the value of their bills being paid them in the ſame manner as it had been paid to the preſent contractors, or was cuſtomary in the like caſe; and that, if any other perſons made propoſals for a fixed time, they were ready to do ſo likewiſe.

Soon after, the ſame gentlemen preſented to the board of treaſury a memorial importing, that they had delivered to the paymaſter-general a propoſal for remitting to Amſterdam all the money that might be neceſ-

ſary for his majeſty's ſervice, in the ſame manner as they were informed the former remitters had lately done, without ſaying for what preciſe time; but it having been intimated to them ſince, that one of thoſe gentlemen had ſaid that he undertook for a year; if that was the time for which their lordſhips deſired to receive propoſals, they had one ready to deliver, or elſe were willing to abide by that delivered to the pay-maſter-general.

Notwithſtanding the plauſibility of theſe propoſals, the lords of the treaſury, after mature deliberation, declared, that, as well for the reaſons ſtated in Mr. Pelham's report, as for the allowed ability of the remitter's correſpondents in Holland, the ſecurity of the contract for a certain time, the experience they had of the punctual and effectual manner, in which the remittances had been hitherto carried on, and from the great and irretrievable detriment it would be to the public ſervice if any interruption ſhould happen in the payment of the forces, by making any alterations in the contract at this time, they were of opinion, that it would be for the intereſt of the public to accept of Mr. Gore's propoſal.

The

The minority were no ſooner informed of theſe circumſtances than they moved, that the proper officer ſhould lay before the houſe copies of the letters or memorials of Mr. Wilkinſon and Mr. Muilman, to the treaſurer, in relation to their remitting the public money abroad. This motion was followed by a long debate, in which Mr. Pelham defended, with great ſtrength of reaſoning, the report he had given in favour of Gore's propoſal; and as it appeared doubtful, whether the other party could, without remitting ſpecie, keep up the courſe of exchange, the motion was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

The oppoſition, more provoked than diſcouraged by this defeat, reſolved to teaze the miniſtry with other no leſs diſagreeable motions. The firſt was, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring he would be pleaſed to give directions, that there might be laid before the houſe copies of all the memorials, repreſentations, and declarations, together with the anſwers that had paſſed between the courts of London and Vienna, relating to the ſtate of the war in the empire, and the intereſt and ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria, from the firſt of September, 1741, to the ſixteenth of November, 1742.

The

The friends of the motion pretended, that nothing could be more reaſonable, than that the parliament ſhould be fully informed of all the particulars of an affair which had coſt the nation ſuch immenſe ſums of money: but their real intention was to fix upon the late or the preſent miniſtry, the charge of having contrived that partition of the Pruſſian dominions, which had ſo highly incenſed his Pruſſian majeſty, and had involved England in ſuch intolerable expences.

The enemies of the motion affirmed, that, ſhould it paſs, no court in Europe could be ſafe in dealing in confidence with that of England: that the tranſactions between two courts might be, and generally were, of ſuch a nature, that, were they publiſhed, the whole operations depending upon them might be defeated; and, conſequently, that nothing would be more prejudicial to the queen of Hungary than the agreeing to ſuch a motion: that if, upon every little rumour or ſuſpicion, a houſe of parliament ſhould order a royal cabinet to be thrown open before them, all conſtitutional prerogative was at an end: and that as ſucceſs was the beſt proof of prudence, the preſent criſis was ſo favourable for her Hungarian majeſty, that it ought to entitle the

the miniſtry to the thanks of the houſe, rather than ſubject them to any enquiry into their conduct. For theſe and other reaſons of the like nature, the motion was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

The next motion was, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring he would be pleaſed to communicate to the houſe copies of all the letters and memorials, which had paſſed between the courts of London and Berlin, relating to any auxiliary or foreign forces entering into Germany in ſupport of the queen of Hungary.

This motion was much better founded than the former. The king of Pruſſia had expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the ſituation of affairs in Germany, where the emperor, he ſaid, was on the point of being dethroned. The queen of Hungary was miſtreſs of his dominions; and, in all appearance, a total revolution of the Germanic ſyſtem was about to take place. His Pruſſian majeſty frankly declared, that, notwithſtanding the treaty of Breſlau, he could not be an indifferent ſpectator of ſuch cruel degradations of the Imperial dignity, which, as an elector of the empire, he was bound to ſupport. He hinted at the ſame time, that, as a German ſovereign, he could wiſh, that the government

ment of England would not think of ſending their army into Germany; becauſe he could not behold the introduction of foreign troops into that part of the world without the greateſt jealouſy and diſguſt. The queſtion, however, upon a diviſion, was rejected by a majory of eighteen voices. Several other motions were made of the like purport and all of them met with the like fate.

The public buſineſs being now finiſhed, his majeſty, on the twenty-fifth day of April, concluded the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, to the end that the Britiſh nation, and the common cauſe might reap the moſt beneficial fruits from the vigourous reſolutions of his parliament, he had, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, to paſs the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majeſty, to oppoſe any dangerous meaſures, that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity upon juſt and ſolid foundations: that he had continued a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the Weſt-Indies, in order to proſecute the great work of diſtreſſing his enemies the Spaniards, and compelling

pelling them to agree to ſafe and honourable terms of peace: and that, from the former of theſe ſquadrons, his allies in Italy had lately received, and ſtill continued to receive, the moſt ſeaſonable and effectual ſupport.

End of the THIRTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.